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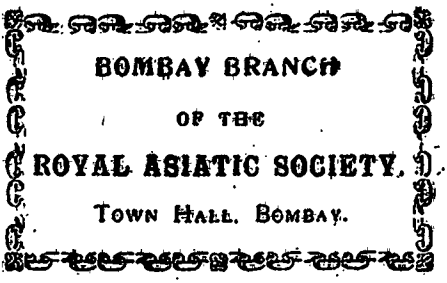

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A Hume

LL. D., D. C. L., F. S. A.

ANCIENT MEOLS:

OR,

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

ANTIQUITIES FOUND NEAR DOVE POINT,

ON THE

SEA-COAST OF CHESHIRE;

INCLUDING A COMPARISON OF THEM WITH RELICS OF THE SAME KINDS RESPECTIVELY, PROCURED ELSEWHERE.

BY

THE REV. A. HUME, LL.D., D.C.L.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES, COPENHAGEN;
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, LONDON;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, SCOTLAND;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE;
LOCAL SECRETARY, AT LIVERPOOL, OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS;
AND HONORARY SECRETARY OF
THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

Sat cito, si sat bene.

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TO THE

PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE,

THIS ATTEMPT

TO ILLUSTRATE A PORTION OF THEIR DISTRICT,

Is respectfully Inscribed,

BY THEIR FRIEND AND FELLOW-LABOURER,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE study of antiquity, like that of any other subject, has its infancy and youth before attaining its maturity; and in this case the maturity is comparatively recent. There are those still living, who have smiled at the conceits and mistakes of antiquaries, when conjecture was common, facts few, and principles but little understood. In the present day, however, no vindication of such pursuits is needed; especially as of late years Archæology has become what Geography and Chronology was each said to be, one of the eyes of History. The geologist, who had previously called in almost every branch of science to aid in his investigations, has lately found his examination rendered more accurate by the lights which Archæology has furnished; and, throughout the researches of the ethnologist, an acquaintance with antiquity is indispensable.

When the publication of this work was first announced, no formal treatise was contemplated. It was thought that a well-arranged catalogue of the objects, with illustrated plates—exhibiting the principal types for the use of the initiated—was perhaps more than the unlearned would care for. On mature consideration, however, this plan was abandoned. It was felt by several friends, in whose judgment I have much confidence, that such information would not be sufficiently elementary for those who would constitute probably the great majority of the readers; and that, in order to invest the subject with sufficient attractions for the members of a large mercantile community, the relations of the objects found to those of the same class generally, and their uses and bearings, should be shown. Besides, a favourable opportunity was presented, for giving full information to the members of a learned society who prosecute inquiries respecting the two north-western counties of Lancashire and

Cheshire; and also for comparing the objects found here, with remains procured in other parts of the kingdom. Accordingly, the whole plan was carefully revised, the materials were greatly extended, and the analysis was made more minute, so as to harmonize with these arrangements.

In addition to the facts recorded under their respective heads, I have added various illustrative quotations chiefly from the poets. These are the results of my own jottings while perusing our old English literature. From what I have known in other cases, I feel assured that they will give some degree of vitality to dry details; and perhaps invest these fragments of old metal and other materials with greater interest, from their connection with human life and daily necessities.

I have to express my acknowledgments to several antiquarian friends who have kindly examined the whole collection, and given me their views respecting its various parts. These include Mr. Hawkins of the British Museum, Mr. Franks, Director of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Albert Way, Mr. Akerman, Mr. Roach Smith, Mr. Thomas Wright, &c.

It would have been impossible, in my own peculiar circumstances, to have described and pictured the objects fairly, if I had not been intrusted with them for a considerable time; and my best acknowledgments are due to Mr. Mayer, Mr. Ecroyd Smith, and Mrs. Longueville, each of whose collections I was permitted to retain for two or three years. All of them are now carefully returned, with grateful acknowledgments. In grouping the objects for the plates, I secured the assistance of Mr. Smith; and he has also explained two or three classes of objects, to which he had paid considerable attention. His remarks are distinguished from my own at the places where they occur.

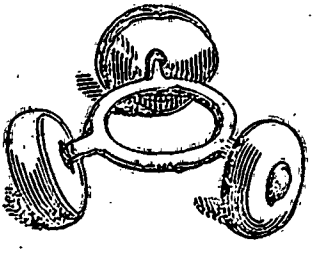
In the work originally contemplated, woodcuts were not thought of; yet the reader is here presented with about three hundred and fifty illustrations of this class. The majority of these I am enabled to present through the kindness of

friends, who were desirous to contribute to the interest of the volume. Among these are the Council of the Society of Antiquaries and that of the Royal Irish Academy; Mr. Mayer of Liverpool, Mr. Jewitt of Derby, and Mr. Robert M'Adam of Belfast.

Many friends have anxiously looked for the appearance of this book; and to some of them it may seem that a period needlessly long has been permitted to elapse between its announcement and its issue. I can assure them, however, that no time has been wasted, though attention has rarely been given to these subjects. With heavy professional duties, and many others of no trifling character, voluntarily undertaken for public purposes, with every day bringing more than a full day's work, apart from any attention to literary pursuits, my own surprise is, not that it has been delayed, but that it has been finished at all. Indeed, it would have been abandoned as a task for which no leisure whatever existed, had it not been that I regarded my veracity as at stake from the moment that the circulars respecting it had been issued. My promise is now more than fulfilled, though less promptly than I could have wished. I trust, however, that the extended plan and increased illustrations will be regarded as some equivalent for unavoidable delay; especially to those who originally expressed a wish to possess the volume.

While the sheets were passing through the press, I have not had leisure to verify every one of the numerous references; but, as that had been done on two occasions before, I venture to hope that few of them will be found inaccurate.

EVERTON, LIVERPOOL,
30*th September*, 1863.



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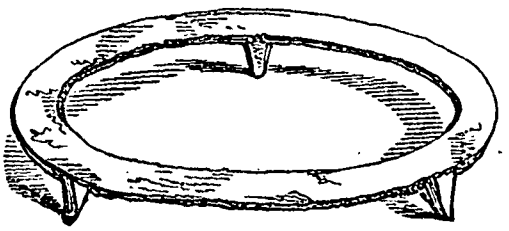

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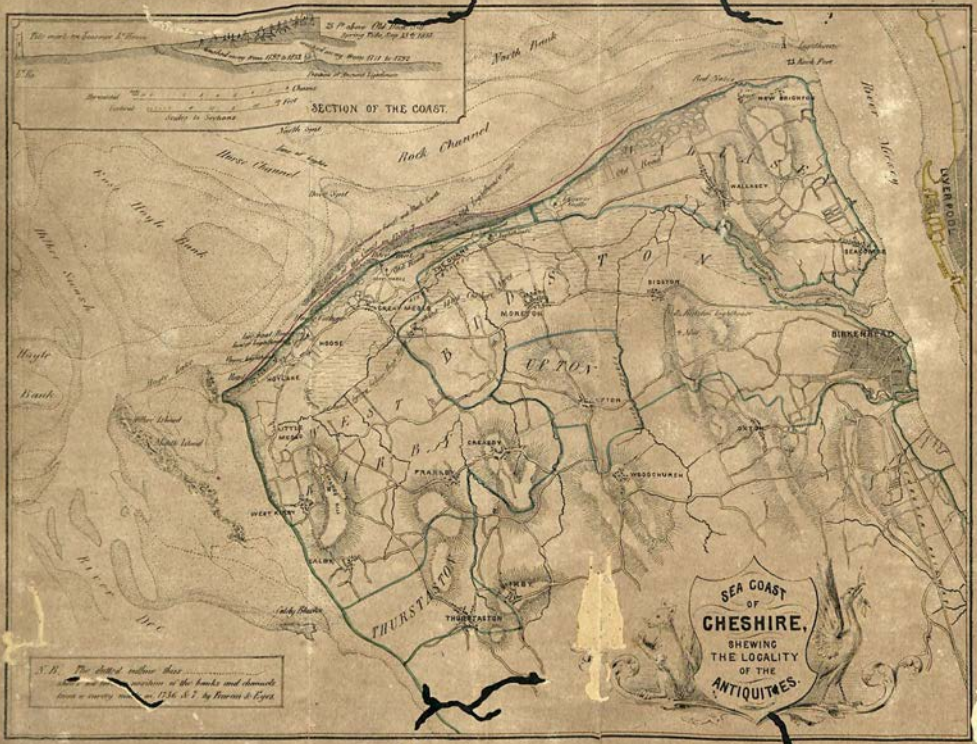
SECTION OF THE COAST.
Scales to Sections
North Bank
Rock Channel
Horse Channel
East Hoyle Bank
Hoyle Bank
River Dee
River Mersey
LIVERPOOL
NEW BRIGHTON
WALLASEY
SEACOMBE
BIDSTON
BIRKENHEAD
MORETON
HOOSE
HOYLAKE
LITTLE MOSS
WEST KIRBY
CALDY
FRANKBY
CAZAUDY
WOODCHURCH
ONTON
THURSTASTON
KIRBY
SEA COAST OF CHESHIRE, SHEWING THE LOCALITY OF THE ANTIQUITIES.
N.B. The dotted outline thus ..... shows the ... position of the banks and channels from a survey made in 1736 & 7 by Fearon & Eyes.
SCALE OF MILES.

PART I.—THE DISTRICT.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE County Palatine of Chester, which adjoins that of Lancaster throughout the whole of its northern boundary, is almost exclusively inland. The exception is to be found in one of its hundreds, and this a comparatively small one, known as the Hundred of Wirrall. It is a peninsula nearly rectangular in shape, its longer parallel sides being bounded on the north-east and south-west respectively by the estuaries of the Mersey and the Dee. These are both well-known rivers. The former is that which contributes to the wealth and prosperity of Liverpool; the latter is associated with the ancient Chester, which it nearly surrounds, and with North Wales, in which it has its origin. The narrow end of this peninsula is washed by the tides of the Irish Channel; and this line of seven and a half miles, between the mouths of the two rivers, is the only part of Cheshire which adjoins the sea. Short as it is, however, it is full of interest; and furnishes materials for investigation in several departments of intellectual inquiry. At one particular point in this line, a large number of antiquarian objects have been brought to light—probably between four thousand and five thousand in all—the purposes of which were very varied, and the ages of which range over many centuries. Strange to say, they have been

all, or nearly all, found below the level of high water, in the soil which at present belongs to the sea rather than to the land. It is not surprising that they have attracted a great deal of attention, and that various opinions have been hazarded respecting the time and the manner of their deposition there.

To explain these objects in detail, or at least so many of them as are still accessible, is the object of this volume. Large numbers had been dispersed, and others lost or destroyed before their nature or importance was known; yet the aggregate collection described here may be regarded as presenting a fair specimen of the whole. The circumstances in which they have been found are so rare and peculiar, that some of our most eminent Archæologists have declined to venture an opinion on the subject; yet it is to be hoped, that in the exercise of a fair induction, we may arrive at a conclusion with a large amount of probability in its favour.

In placing before the reader the general circumstances under which these objects have been found, it will be necessary to examine the district both in *place* and in *time:* that is to say, in its Topographical and also in its Historical features. There are other considerations which necessarily suggest themselves, such as the changes of elevation, if any, of sea and land, and the relation existing between the two. A brief examination of these subjects forms an indispensable introduction to the treatise respecting the articles.

II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

1.—General Remarks.

The north-western end of the peninsula, extending as far as Birkenhead on the one side and Thurstaston on the other, is all that we require to examine at present; and the places admit of easy identification by means of the accompanying

map. A range of hills, extending for some miles nearly parallel to the Mersey, terminates abruptly at Bidston: and the district to the north of these hills is one continuous and uninteresting flat. There are a few undulations westward towards the Dee, terminating in the Grange Hill, on which West Kirkby is built; and the principal parts of the parish of Wallasey are also elevated considerably above the surrounding land.

Through the long dreary flat between these elevations and the shore, the rivulet called Birket is said to "flow;" but in reality it resembles a stagnant ditch, having only a fall of a few inches from its rise to its close. It originates within a few perches of the mouth of the Dee; and meandering through the flat country, is discharged into the Mersey through Wallasey Pool. The deep ditches of sluggish water which intersect this plain in various directions, remind one of the divisions of fields which are common in the Fen country; and a large portion of it seems very limited in improveable qualities. A continuous tract of 1400 Cheshire acres, or nearly 3000 statute acres, is permanently below high water level; and but for a large embankment on the side next the sea, and strong flood-gates on the side next Wallasey Pool (now called Birkenhead Great Float), Neptune would claim again the dominion which appears to have been wrested from him. It is, no doubt, to this physical feature, as well as perhaps to the direction of the rivers, that Drayton alludes in his *Polyolbion*, published in 1612. Not only the poem, but the maps which are appended to it in illustration, are figurative, and personify both rivers and lands. Hilbre* is a little island at the mouth of the Dee, of the extent of a very few acres; called by Drayton, "Corner of Werrall." He says:—

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* St. Hildeburgh's ea or island. There was a cell of monks here; and from this fact, as well as from the position of the little island, it attracted unusual attention, and was generally depicted on a much larger scale than the neighbouring land.

Mersey for more state
Assuming broader banks, him selfe so proudly beares,
That at his sterne approach, extended Wyrrall feares,
That (what betwixt his floods of *Mersey* and the *Dee*)
In very little time deuoured he might be;
Out of the foaming surge, till Hilbre lifts his head,
To let the foreland see how richly he had sped.
Which *Mersey* cheeres so much, that with a smyling brow,
He fawnes on both these Floods, their amorous arms that throw.

Another feature of the coast which it possesses in common with that of Lancashire, consists of the huge hills of fine sand, which are blown up just beyond the reach of high water, but are shifted from time to time by the wind, like the drifty portion of a snow wreath. They occur about Waterloo and Southport, to the north of the mouth of the Mersey, and there too the name *meols** occurs, both in Raven's Meols and North Meols. In Cheshire these hills were formerly called "hoes," but the name is not now common. Sandhills of a similar kind are called *dunes* in France, and are well known in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk. In a poem entitled *Iter Lancastrense*, 1636, they are thus alluded to:—

Ormeschurch and ye Meales
Are our next jorney, we direct no weales
Of state to hinder our delight. Y^e^ guize
Of those chaffe sands,† which do in mountains rise,
On shore is pleasure to behould, which *hoes* ‡
Are called in Worold: windie tempest blowes
Them up in heaps.

Such a communication with the sea, as has just been noticed, would separate the parish of Wallasey, and it is

* Mr. Corser, the editor of James's *Iter Lancastrense*, for the Chetham Society, appears to think that Meols is derived from *moel*, a large heap or pile. It is commonly said to be derived from a term denoting appearance—bare, naked, bald—rather than size.

† Light sands, blown about like chaff, or like snow-drift.

‡ How, a hill, as Fox-*how*, Green-*how*, Torpen-*how*, Clider-*how* (Clitheroe).

supposed that the parish of West Kirkby, on the Dee, was also separated. Ormerod says (*Hist. Chesh.* ii. 269), "the parish appears to have been insulated at some distant period by a deep rocky channel, which joins the estuary of the Dee between Caldey and Thurstanston, and gradually mixes with the flat district on the shore of the Irish sea. The greater part of the space thus separated is rocky and uneven, and totally different in character from the rest of the Hundred."

2.—Points of Special Interest.

If we pursue the line of coast from North-east to South-west, the following facts present themselves :—

Towards the former extremity is the plain known as the Leasowe, which was used, at least occasionally, as a race-course previous to 1601, and which, with that at Childwall in Lancashire, referred to about a century later,* constituted the two places for equestrian sports in this neighbourhood. Its ancient dimensions are now greatly curtailed; yet, when the act respecting its enclosure came into operation, about 1818, it was two hundred and twenty acres in extent.† It was then protected by the sandhills, on which star-grass was cultivated for the purpose of binding them; but, in 1829, an important sea-wall was erected, extending a mile and three quarters to the south-west, from opposite Leasowe Castle, at a cost of about £20,000. It is maintained in good condition by the Corporation of Liverpool; but the sea occasionally breaks over it, as during the high winds of 20th January, 1863.‡

* "Yesterday (6th September, 1705) I saw and spoke to Mr. Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick, at the horse-race at Childwall, where my Lord Mullineux and his son's horses ran against Mr. Harrington's and his son's, and the two latter did win." — *The Norris Papers, Chetham Society*, p. 141.

† Ormerod's Cheshire, ii. 281.

‡ On the 14th of February, 1861, a fourteen feet tide rose to nineteen feet, or was influenced to the extent of five feet by the winds. If this had happened with a twenty-one feet spring tide, much of the low land in the valleys of the Mersey and the Dee would have been laid under water.

Passing towards the Dee by the lighthouse, we come to the Dove Point, opposite the projecting sandbank known as the Dove Spit.* By the formation of the surface, the idea is suggested that there was formerly a connection with the bank beyond; that is to say, with the Hoyle bank at its northern extremity, or the Burbo at its southern. We will return to the consideration of this spot; but it may be permitted at present to make a remark on the etymology of the name. The whole surface of the ground between the sandhills and the water is a mass of turf-bog apparently, and the modern name by which it is known is literally true, "the black earth." But the ancient one was equally correct, for it was almost the same term, as *Dove* is only slightly altered from the Celtic *Dhuv*, black.† We notice the name on Grenville Collins's map, 1687, but in all probability it is many centuries older. This part is in the township of Great Meols, probably named from the *large*‡ bare heaps of sand which it exhibited; for in area it is not one-twentieth larger than Little Meols.

Between the two lies the township of Hoose, which is only about one-third the size of the Meols on either side of it, and in it the village of Hoylake is situated. The name is evidently a corruption of the "hoes" or hillocks alluded to; and it is not unlikely that they occupied the whole of the 230 acres which

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* About 1829, during the mayoralty of Sir George Drinkwater, an attempt was made to change the name to Drinkwater Spit, and this is marked on Evans's map. The old name, however, remained.

† The Dove river in Derbyshire, whence Dovedale, is named in a similar way. Before cultivation had cleared away the peat from the hills, the water was black coloured, like the Blackwaters and Avon-dhus of Ireland, and like numerous streams of Lancashire at the present time. There is a similar piece of black earth opposite Caldey, near the mouth of the Dee; and it is commonly known by the name of "Cawdey Blacks."

‡ In like manner, Little Meols would derive its name from the small naked hillocks of sand; an adjective from a more modern language being frequently joined to a noun from a more ancient one.

constitute its land area.* Indeed, they practically do so still, terminating and recommencing with an interval of about two miles along the end of the peninsula; and hence, though roads have been made and houses built, it would be difficult to find an acre of cultivated ground within the limits.

The earliest mention that is made of Hoylake appears to be about the reign of King John, when William Lancelyn quit-claimed for ever, to the monks of St. Werburgh, the fishing of "lacus de Hildburgeye, *qui vocatur Heye-pol.*" The name was therefore first applied to the water, and afterwards transferred to the land; but its pronunciation and its orthography have been subject to great varieties. It has been the High-Lake, Hyle-lake, Hoyle-lake, and Hoylake. The "Hyle sand" of 1687, now cut in two by the action of the river Dee, constitutes the east and west Hoyle banks; but the lake or passage between the bank and the land, having been almost filled up by the silting of sand, the village which has sprung up in Hoose since about 1830, has taken the name Hoylake,† and is now well known as a favourite watering-place. The anti-

* On Collins's map is marked "The Hose-end," where the sandhills terminate near Dove Point; so that there can be little doubt about the derivation mentioned in the text. In like manner, the Horse Channel is the Hose or Hoose Channel. The "hoes" appear to extend further now than formerly, in the direction of the Leasowe lighthouse.

† The name "Heye-pol" is about as old as the name "Lyrpool;" and it is unquestionable that both originally applied to water, not to land. Several distinct pieces of water in the neighbourhood are called "pools," as Dalpool or Dorpool, now Dawpool, near Thurstaston. Here, also, the name has been transferred from the water to the land. Now, the correlative terms of high and low, upper and under, are given not merely from reasons connected with elevation, but from their position in reference to a head or centre. The nearer is the upper, and the more remote the lower. May we not conclude, therefore, that the early ships plying to and from the port of Chester found the Heye (high) pol near the mouth of the Dee, and the Lyr (lower) pool near the mouth of the Mersey? The abbreviated expression (like Bixteth street for Bickersteth street, or the change Litherpool, as Litherland) is in accordance with the customs of the period; and the relative distances from Chester are thus stereotyped in the names of a village and a seaport, the rapid growth and present importance of which are very unequal.

quities found at Meols are sometimes spoken of as the Hoylake antiquities, that being the largest known place in the immediate neighbourhood.

Let us now return to "the black earth," at the place characteristically called "Dove." William Webb, whose description of the whole county, written about 1615, is printed in *King's Vale Royal*, speaking of the mosses which yield "turves," adds the following:—

"In these mosses, especially in the black, are fir-trees found under the ground, (a thing marvellous!) in some places six feet deep or more, and in others not one foot; which trees are of a surprising length, and straight, having certain small branches like boughs, and roots at the one end as if they had been blown down by winds; and yet no man can tell that ever any such trees did grow there, nor yet how they should come thither. Some are of opinion that they have lain there ever since Noah's flood. These trees being found (which the owners do search out with a long spit of iron or such like), they are then digged up, and first being sawed into short pieces (every piece of the length of a yard), then they cleave the said pieces very small, yea, even as the back of a knife, the which they use instead of a candle to burn, and they give very good light."

But it is clear that the general characteristic applied to this particular locality; for, about twenty years later, we find a similar description in verse,* with the intimation in the margin—"*You may see this at a place called ye Stocks in Worold.*"

But greater wonder calls me hence: ye deepe
Low spongie mosses yet remembrance keepe
Of Noah's flood: on numbers infinite
Of fir-trees swaines doe in their cesses† light;
And in summe places, when ye sea doth bate
Down from ye shoare, 'tis wonder to relate
How *many thowsands* of theis trees now stand
Black broken on their rootes, which once drie land
Did cover, whence turfs Neptune yeelds to showe
He did not always to theis borders flow.

* Iter Lancastrense, l. 305—314. † Recesses, pits or excavations.

As there is no place in Wirrall where such phenomena exist except at and near Dove Point, it is clear that he is alluding to the "Submarine Forest," or to the stumps known as "Meols Stocks." Without attaching undue importance to the terms which he employs, "numbers infinite" and "many thowsands," it is clear that in the early part of the seventeenth century the remains of trees existed in great numbers. So also did they on the Lancashire shore near Formby,* shewing that the country round was formerly well wooded, though now it exhibits scarcely a shrub in the neighbourhood of the sea.

More than two centuries have elapsed, yet the remains of a forest have not been obliterated. The following notes are extracted from my own diary, on visiting the spot at several times:—

March, 1850.—The various strata are visible to seaward, each upper one gradually disappearing. Thus: 1st, the sand and upper surface extend thirty yards towards the tide: 2nd, "the black earth" fifty-nine yards further, containing 538 stumps of trees: 3rd, blue clay sixty-three yards further: and 4th, the lowest margin noticeable, is forty-four yards further, or nearly 200 yards in a direct line to seaward.

One stump, known in Ireland as "bog-fir," forty-three yards below high-water mark, has the bark on. The wood above is much torn away, but one flake contains an obvious nail or staple hole. The iron is gone, but the rust remains in and around the hole.

Many stumps have been removed by the villagers, who dry them to heat their ovens. The earth is like turf bog, with trees in it, and the whole is easily penetrated, cutting like a piece of cheese.

The stumps are largest towards the Dee, but become smaller and more numerous towards Leasowe. Some of the smaller ones seem to be in rows,† five yards wide, and the individual ones five yards apart.

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* In 1796, large numbers of trunks of trees existed between Crosby and Formby, on the shore; and not only a description of them, but a woodcut shewing their appearance, is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year.

† The same fact was noticed by Dr. Leigh, one hundred and sixty years ago, and also by Dr. Aikin, near the mouth of the Alt, between Crosby and Formby. Part of the trunks, "being in a line at equal distances, were undoubtedly planted."

11*th July*, 1857.—Large trees to Hoylake end; small plantation towards Leasowe. The large trees seem to be in a rude order, but yet not quite regular. The great majority are oak. The roots are standing *in situ*, and some trunks. The latter vary from eighteen inches to two and a half feet in diameter. Some trees of fir, and roots of one of fir, come close up to and met those of a tree of oak. The trunks lie in a south-east direction, as if they had been prostrated by a north-west wind. Mr. Sherwood says that a large tree was lately found thirty-five feet long. It is sound at the heart, but a few inches of the outer bark is decayed.

13*th July*, 1857.—Butts of land or marks of ridges are visible to the Leasowe side of Dove Mark, and Hoylake side of Dove Spit. Four different trees, interlaced in their roots. One long fir-tree (one of these four), twenty-one feet long; another also imbedded in black earth and sand; thirty feet of it visible. There are numerous masses of marl and bog rounded and water-worn, many of them assuming the shape of stone celts. The clay underneath has dried into crystals, like the stones of the Giant's Causeway, and fir and oak roots penetrate the chinks.

There is an artificial canal cut through the black earth, like a place for launching boats, or like a cart-road up from the tide; on the north side of which is a gigantic bog-fir root, of about three feet six inches in diameter. It has been cut, and has wedges sticking in it. Great part of it is carried* away.

At the most seaward point of the Dove Spit, there are large close and old fir-trees in irregular order, as if part of a natural forest. A few perches landward they are young, small, and in rows, as if planted in the shelter of the larger ones. One fir, the largest and best seen yet, has marks of the axe upon it by which it has been cut down; the edge of the axe three and a half inches broad. There is the shell of an oak-tree still remaining, like a garden box in which plants are grown.

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* The library at Leasowe Castle is fitted up from the timber of Meols Stocks, and numerous trinkets are constructed of it. The handles and latches of the doors in the parsonage at Hoylake, and in the cottage erected by the late Mr. Swainson, are also of this oak. Great quantities of it have also been removed from the Lancashire shore within the present century. One man carted away nearly fifty loads from a single field in Crosby.

Several tree-roots have been washed from their natural moorings, and now occupy new sites. These are all fir. There is a line of oaks, seven or eight in number, nearer the land, all tub-like.

A piece of a huge trunk of oak is lying off Dove Point, to seaward of Dove Mark. Just there, the ground is formed almost exclusively of vegetable matter; projecting ends of trunks and branches. Where no trees have existed, there is evidence of several distinct tufts of brushwood to the Hoylake side of Dove Mark. The peat extends, with occasional interruptions, about three miles along the shore: viz., from near Leasowe Castle to opposite Hoylake village. An old line of coast is shown below high-water mark, on Captain Denham's chart, extending almost from the Mersey to the Dee.

3.—Information derivable from Maps.

It might be supposed that ancient maps would tend to throw some light upon the former condition of the district; but geography, like other departments of knowledge, had its embryo and unsatisfactory stage; so that it is only in comparatively recent times that we find the delineations of maps thoroughly reliable. The vagueness which characterises our more ancient English treatises, is naturally surprising to one who is accustomed to the mathematical accuracy of modern times. The observer knew, of course, when he turned to the right or left, and he was acquainted in general with the four cardinal points; but all statements, both on the subject of direction and extent, were extremely vague. It does not follow that the maps formed from such impressions and descriptions were, or are, wholly useless; but they served few practical purposes, and they bore a strong resemblance to those which schoolboys draw from memory upon their slates. Three or four of these may be alluded to, partly as curiosities, but mainly in illustration of the negative kind of information which the more ancient topographical maps afford us.

(1.) The first is an Anglo-Saxon map of the 10th century, published in *Knight's Pictorial History of England*, of which

the part referring to these islands is here extracted. The world, as then known, is given with the usual errors as to relative position, direction, and magnitude. At the top is the east; in the north-western corner are the British Islands; Great Britain hangs almost like two door-posts and a lintel over Ireland and the Isle of Man; Wales appears to project from the most northerly point; and the sea beyond is studded with islands more than equal in area to Ireland or Britannia proper. (*Plate I., Map* 1.)

(2.) A more accurate view of our own part of the world is given on a map of the British islands, of about the middle of the sixteenth century. It is taken from Munster's *Cosmographia Universalis,** and exhibits the usual exaggerations and inaccuracies. There appears to be a forest in North Wales, but nothing can be conjectured respecting the modern districts of Lancashire and Cheshire. (*Plate I., Map* 3.)

(3.) In Matthew Paris's map of England,† supposed to have been drawn by his own hand about the thirteenth century, we see a rough outline of our own particular district. In four adjoining counties, four adjacent places of importance are marked, viz.:—Carlisle in Cumberland, Richmond in Yorkshire, Furness in Lancashire, and Chester in Cheshire. Besides the amusing irregularities which it exhibits, the primitive character of the map is illustrated by a quaint remark written on the face of it. The south-eastern portion of England is wanting, and the explanation occurs—"Si pagina pateretur, hinc, total insula largior esse debet." (*Plate I., Map* 2.)

(4.) In a work printed in 1575, we have an engraved map (constructed in 1569) of a portion smaller than a county, viz., of the Hundred of Wirrall—which we are now considering. It

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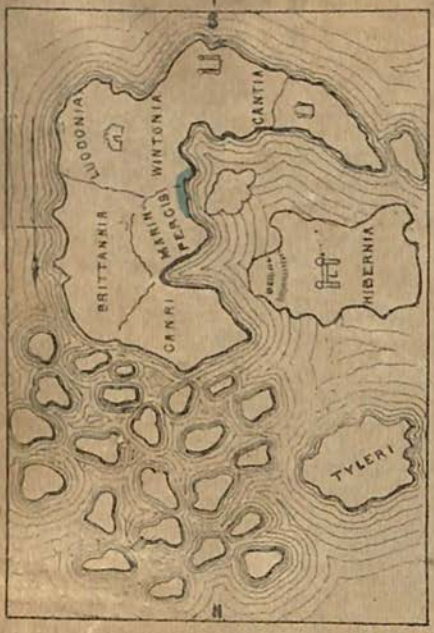
* Printed at Basle, 1550.

† Britannia, nunc Anglia, quæ complectitur Scociam, Gallweiam, et Walliam; MS. Lib. Reg., B. M. It is published in Gough's Topography, Vol. I.

1



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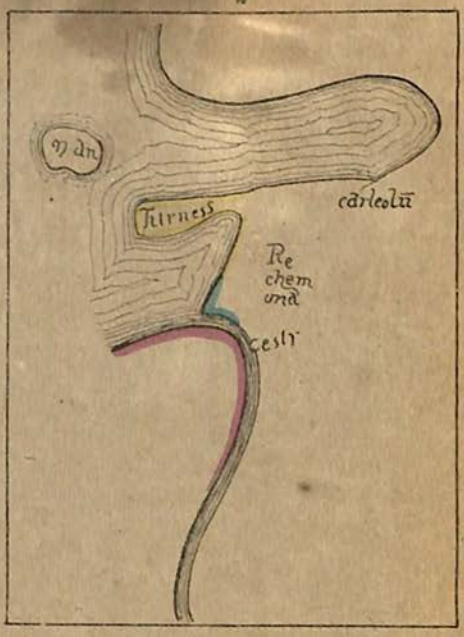

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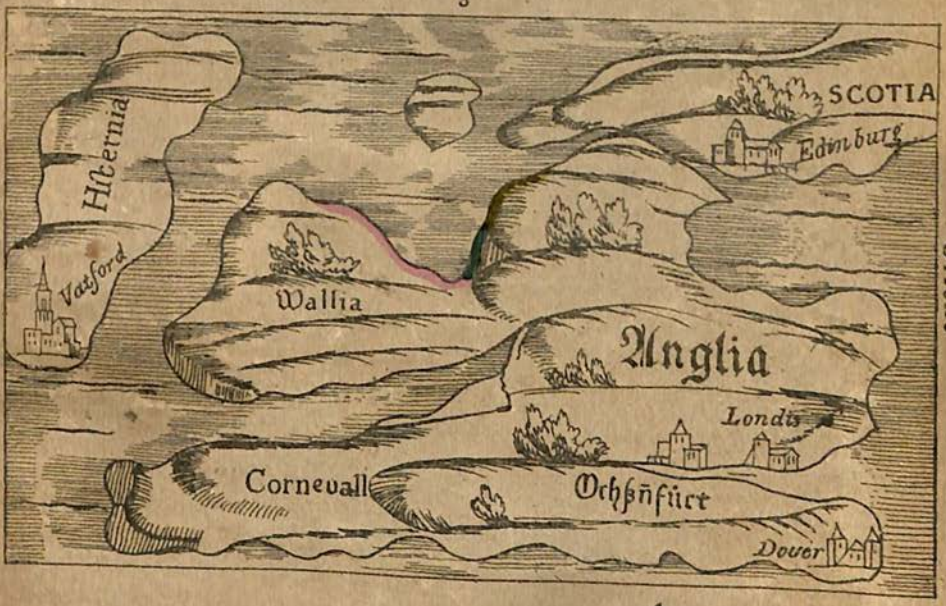


4

Reference.

1. Anglo Saxon Map 10th Century.
2. Matthew Paris's Map 13th Century.
3. From Munster's Cosmographiæ Universalis 1550.
4. From Lhuyd's Cambriæ Typus. Cir 1575.

is in the *Cambriæ** *Typus* of Lhuyd. [Lhuyd was a native of Denbigh, and its representative in Parliament; and therefore ought to have known the neighbourhood well. But on the map of Saxton, 1573, Hilbre is an island as at present; and as he was employed for nine years, under a Royal Commission, in surveying the English counties, his authority is the more valuable, for both time and place.] The Hundred of Wirrall, called *Cilgwri* by the Britons, stretches out into the sea, and, instead of an island at its extremity, there is a large peninsula. (*Plate I., Map* 4.) In connection with this it may be noticed, that the earliest map which pretends to give individual places in these shires, and the earliest with which we are acquainted, is Ptolemy's. He presents a puzzle to antiquarian and geographical inquirers, by appearing to fuse the two rivers, Mersey and Ribble; but an attempt is made to explain his statements, and to harmonize them with modern facts, in *Horsley's Britannica Romana*, 1732.

Among the most reliable maps of more modern times were those which appear to have been first constructed in subordination to heraldry. In the visitations of the shires, which took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, places were noted in connection with the noblemen and gentlemen resident in or near them who were entitled to bear arms. I have not, however, discovered any manuscript map of this kind referring to Cheshire; but the county maps by Franciscus Scatterus, 1577, which are engraved, shew that those, both of Lancashire and Cheshire, have been used for heraldic purposes. The latter exhibits the internal hills as at Wallasey and West Kirkby; the townships of Grange, Melse-magna, Melse-parva, and Morton, are given; Bidston represents an enclosure like a park; and Poulton appears as "Poton." Hilbre is a distinct island, but the part of the coast opposite to it projects much further to seaward than at present; and in

* Cambriæ Typus, Auctore Humfredo Lhuydo, Denbigense, Cambro-Britanno.

the outline of Wirrall, appended to the map of Lancashire, the same appearance is presented. Under Seacombe is written the word "*Melsh*" by the hand of a herald, shewing that a gentleman named Meols, whose name was derived from the neighbouring township (popularly "Melsh"), resided there.

In the Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a map of Cheshire of the date 1588, by William Smith, who in one place is described as "citizen of Noremburg," and in another as "Rouge Dragon." It is very carefully drawn for the period, and so many as sixty-eight places are given in the Hundred of Wirrall. Among these, Meols Great and Little are both represented as villages, but the shore still appears to project seaward.

It would perhaps be too much to infer that Meols ever was a large place in the modern sense of the term; but there is a concurrence of evidence to shew that it certainly was so by comparison. For, in Visscher's Map of 1650, Meols is the only town given in the whole hundred; and there are but two roads* marked, one of which passes through it, going round the coast, and the other is direct from Frodsham to Meols. Also on Schenk's map, published *temp.* William III., while Formby, Sefton, Bidston, Garston, &c., are represented

* The reader must not suppose that these were like our modern turnpike roads, or that they were necessarily "made roads" at all. They were probably "bridle-paths," used at best for saddle and pack horses. Nearly a century later, viz., in 1770, the important road from Preston to Wigan is thus described by Mr. Arthur Young: "Travellers will here meet with ruts, which I actually measured, four feet deep, and floating with mud only from a wet summer; what, therefore, must it be after a winter? The only mending it in places receives, is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting a carriage in a most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions, but facts; for I actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory." In the *Iter Lancastrense*, the roads in this part of the country are contrasted with the old Roman roads, thus:—

> Our wayes are gulphs of durt and mire, which none
> Scarce ever passe in summer without moane;
> Whilst theirs through all ye world were no lesse free
> Of passadge then ye race of Wallisee,
> Ore broken moores, deep mosses, lake and fenne,
> Now works of giants deemed, not arte of men.

In 1687, there appears to have been a road from Chester to Neston, but it was so bad that a carriage broke down or stuck in the quicksands.

as *pagi*, Meols is represented as an *oppidum*. Again in 1690, in the *Index Villaris*, compiled by John Adams of the Inner Temple, Wallasey is represented as the seat of one gentleman; neither Leasowe nor Seacombe is given; West Kirkby is merely a parish; but Meols is a seaport town, and the seat of one gentleman!

In Burdett's map of 1794, "the Bathing-place" is represented at Great Meols, as if it had been even then recognised as a watering-place; and the shore road lies along the heath and sands to the seaward of the present Leasowe Castle.* At the present time much of this road can be traced, especially at its extremities, but the intermediate part has been eaten away by the action of the tide.

4.—Inroads of the Sea.

That such erosion of the land has really taken place, though not so prominently as to attract universal attention, is evident from the following facts:—(1.) The first is, that Leasowe Castle, erected about 1593, originally an octagon, with turrets at the alternate faces, was intended as a stand-house, and of course was nearly in the centre of the Leasowe race-course.† It is now almost on the margin of the sea; and, though protected by a strong sea-wall, it is far from secure against the incursions of the tide. (2.) An undated map, said to have been constructed by direction of the late engineer, Telford,

* A fuller account of the maps referring to this part of Cheshire, is given in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, xi. 219, &c.

† This was formerly known as "Wallissey Race;" and is mentioned under that name by James, Adam Martindale, Grenville Collins, and Mackay, (1732.) Martindale says, "that summer (1682) the Duke of Monmouth came into Cheshire to Wallasie Race, and thence to Rocksavage, Dunham, Moire, Gawsworth, &c." In *King's Vale Royal* it is described as "those flat sands or plains upon the shore of the sea, which, for the fitness of such a purpose, allure the gentlemen and others oft to appoint great matches, and venture no small sums in trying the swiftness of their horses." Encroachments had been made upon it by the tide so early as 1697.

which I have seen in the Dock Office, Liverpool, shews several portions of the land removed by the sea at different dates. This map has been published in the report of Robert Rawlinson, Esq., to the General Board of Health respecting the township of Poulton-cum-Seacombe.* It would appear from it that a portion of the shore, about ninety yards in breadth, was washed away between 1771 and 1792; that a second portion, somewhat larger, was washed away before September 1813, and about twenty yards more between that date and 1828. Thus we account for a strip of land, at least 200 yards wide, which has been gradually removed by the sea.† But this is not all. On the 20th of January of the present year, the outer Dove Mark was washed away, with the whole of the high bank on which it stood; its site being about ten yards from the top of the hill, to the base of which the tide flows. On the same occasion about twenty yards of the shore, near the life-boat house, was washed away; so that the house, which was previously in a recess, now stands exposed. (3.) The site of an old lighthouse is given on Mr. Rawlinson's map, at the alleged distance of 600 yards from the present one. This is improbable, as it would fix the site of it about 200 yards to seaward of the coast line of 1771, and it existed only from 1763 to 1771, within which period there is no reason to believe that so large a destruction of the land took place.‡ (4.) In the surveys which were made by three distinguished engineers,§ for a ship canal to connect the Mersey and the Dee, Mr. Nimmo discovered a number of human skeletons, nearly opposite the

* The inquiry took place, and the Report was published, in 1851.

† See the section on the map of the district.

‡ Under the head of "Hydrography" more correct information is given.

§ See the Report by Thomas Telford, Robert Stevenson, and Alexander Nimmo, dated 16th May, 1828, and printed in the Appendix to the "Report of Inquiry respecting the Corporation of Liverpool, 1833." The distance of the burial-place below high water is stated in Mr. Rawlinson's Report, quoted above, Appendix C.

Leasowe Lighthouse, and at the distance of between 100 and 200 yards below the flow of the tide. Their number, and the regularity with which they were deposited, leave no doubt on the mind that this was an ancient place of sepulture;* and, owing to the antiseptic qualities of the peaty earth, they may have lain there for many centuries. This spot would be within the shore line of 1771, the upper surface of which was not actually carried away, but lowered and displaced, by the removal of the subjacent beds, or otherwise. (5.) The little island of Hilbre, which was evidently once much larger than it is now, is being gradually washed away. The side which is most exposed has been faced with mason-work, by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, to arrest the progress of its decay.

The following inferences, therefore, appear to flow naturally from the evidence, viz.:—1st, that Meols or Great Meols was relatively of much greater importance two or three centuries ago than it is now—2nd, that it lay on the high-road round the peninsula, and that it was the direct terminus of a road leading seaward along the peninsula—3rd, that the land then extended further to seaward than it does at present.

Similar inquiries in other departments tend to confirm some of these inferences.

III.—GEOLOGY.

An interesting paper, on the larger subject of the Geology of the Country all round Liverpool, read at one of their

* A deserted burial-place is soon forgotten. Owing to the necessity for uniting parishes, there are many in Ireland; and the traditions respecting each usually die out in the generation which succeeds the last interment. The old grave-yard of the village of Formby has been superseded for more than a century; and, as the village has been removed to a distance, it is rarely used except for the Roman Catholic neighbours. In a few years the "chaff-sands" will probably have buried it also.

meetings by G. H. Morton, F.G.S., has just been published by our local Naturalists' Field Club. It is copiously illustrated; and the hundred of Wirrall is part of the country which is investigated. On previous occasions similar investigations* have been undertaken, and attempts have been made to account for the existence of several obvious historical changes, as well as to explain existing facts. Most of the following statements are coincident with the views of these writers; and to Mr. Morton I am indebted for the sketches from which the illustrations have been made.

Ascending from bottom to top, the strata are arranged in three† great classes, which, if directly superimposed, would be 6600 feet thick, or a mile and a quarter in perpendicular depth. From the facts of the case, it is clear that the coal-measures form a basin—probably complete, but perhaps only a partial one—in which the superior strata (the sandstones, &c.) are placed. The sides of this basin are visible at Huyton in Lancashire, at Neston in Cheshire, and across the Dee in Flintshire. Or, to express the same thing differently, there has been a fault in the coal-measures, which would otherwise have lain near the surface, and a consequent "downthrow" of the superincumbent strata; so that we walk over the dislocated and abraded top of these, constituting as they do the varied surface of the ground in the locality.

To the popular observer the relation of hill and valley is permanent, and we speak conventionally of the "everlasting

* By Mr. Cunningham, F.G.S., especially, and by the late Rev. Thomas Dwyer of Liverpool; also partially by Messrs. Binney and Hull of Manchester.

† I. Palæozoic, including the coal-measures, or the upper portion of the carboniferous system. Thickness, 4800 feet.

II. Mesozoic, consisting mainly of red sandstone, formerly known as New. The upper beds of the New Red are now called Keuper and Bunter, and the lower Permian; but of this last none is found here. Thickness, 1700 feet.

III. Pleistocene, or most modern strata, occupying the surface wherever the older rocks do not crop out. Thickness, 100 feet.

hills;" while the water is fluid and impressible, and constitutes the "restless ocean." To the eye of science, however, the case is wholly different. The ocean level constitutes a fixed standard of measurement; for the surface of the land, at intervals more or less distant, is subject to elevations and depressions, and to changes which are sometimes so gradual as to escape the notice of any particular generation. Within the area to which our attention is now directed, the principal changes to be noted are the following:—

(1.) *Filling up of River Beds, &c.*—Before the accumulation of Post-glacial deposits, the elevated ridges of sandstone were separated by valleys, the lowest parts of which were probably chasms, clefts, and ravines. These were gradually filled up by the debris from the denuded or higher strata, till, instead of sharp abrupt angles, a graceful undulating surface was produced such as we see. The channels of our rivers originally consisted of such valleys, and so did those of the smaller streams; some of which (like the Mersey) have been kept open to the present time, and perhaps enlarged by the increased action of water. But it frequently happens in the case of lagoons or shallow lakes, and rivers whose waters are greatly diffused, that by the accumulation of vegetable and earthy matter from the surrounding elevations, as well as of diluvium brought in by the currents, the water is diminished. The bottoms, then, go through a series of progressive changes—becoming "blind lakes," quagmires, marshes, meadow-lands occasionally flooded, and lastly arable ground. Sometimes the river, flowing from a lake or basin, deepens its own channel till it drains away the source of its supply. In this part of Cheshire we can trace the course of several dried channels, as in the low land nearly coincident with the Ellesmere canal at the south of the peninsula of Wirrall; the line of the Mersey continued up the Weaver; and the Birket, through Wallasey Pool connecting it with the sea. These are not now covered by tidal waters, though the names of places,

the existence of marine shells, and the presence of long low valleys just above tidal influence, concur in shewing that they were so* within the Historic period. So slight is their elevation above high-water mark, that it is not necessary to imagine an upheaval of the district. It is more likely that the detritus from the land produced the effect: in short, that the change was from above, not from below.

(2.) *Subsidence of Portions of the District.*—The cuttings which have been made in the course of public improvements on both sides of the river Mersey, seem to shew a subsidence of the strata of about fifty feet. In the year 1829, in the excavations on the site of the Old Dock, for the purpose of erecting the present Custom-house, *two* peat or forest beds were discovered. The first, which was a foot in depth, had over it nineteen feet of water, and nine of dock silt, white sand, and blue silt; and the second, which was lower down, and of the same thickness, was separated from it by a bed of blue silt ten feet thick. In both the peat beds, there were trunks and portions of the trunks of trees; and in the intermediate stratum of blue silt there were the horns of the stag.† Another cutting was made during the construction of the North Docks near Bootle, when a bed of peat, with forest plants and trees, was found thirty-five feet below high-water level. The superincumbent beds were water, sand, and blue silt; and immediately below the forest bed was sandstone.‡

On the Cheshire side of the river, the evidences of subsidence are equally clear. The creek, formerly known as Wallasey Pool, and now called the Great Float, covers nearly 250 acres at spring tides, below the embankment where the Birket discharges its waters through a tunnel. On Mackenzie's chart, surveyed in 1760, the depth is marked as

* "For even cities, oh boatman! die as men do, and, what is more remarkable, whole rivers also."—*Lucian, Dialogue of Mercury and Charon.*

† Newspaper Account, quoted by Mr. Morton, p. 46.

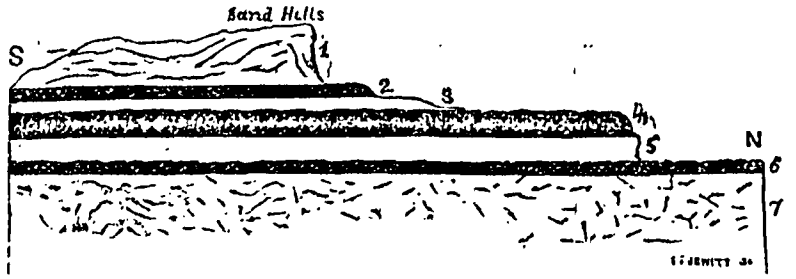
‡ Mr. Glue, C.E., quoted by Mr. Morton, p. 45.

twenty fathoms opposite its mouth; yet in 1828 there were only seventeen feet of water up to the embankment. It is clear, therefore, that in the interval, the depth had been regularly diminishing. In 1858, in the course of excavations for the Birkenhead New Docks, the character of the bottom was disclosed. The sloping sides of the Pool presented traces of having been a natural surface at one time, covered with large trees. The trunk of one of these, apparently occupying the position where it had grown, was seven feet four inches in circumference, though much of the wood had been torn away.* Above this ancient forest bed was a deposit of mud, at least ten feet deep in the middle. Farther, about ten feet below the original bed of the Pool, was found a human skull, and the leg-bone of (probably) a red-deer. The former was that of an adult, but of small size, particularly in the frontal region. Several horns and portions of skulls of the *Bos primigenius* were also discovered; some of the horns lying at the root of a tree near the upper end of the Pool. There were also found a skull of the *Bos longifrons* (Plate XXXII., 2a, 2b), horns and bones of the *Cervus claphus*, and the rib-bone of a *Cetacean*.† The forest bed of the Wallasey Pool rests on boulder-clay, and those of the Bootle Docks and Custom-house on sandstone; so that there seems to have been a subsidence, not of one stratum, but of the whole mass, probably before the period with which history makes us acquainted.

* Extensive land-slips have taken place on the banks of the Mersey, as elsewhere; and Mr. Cunningham refers to one in which part of the garden connected with the Egremont hotel was carried down to the shore. A fruit-tree maintained its erect position for at least nine months, standing upright on the rock when all the soil had been washed away from it. This shows what is possible; but it will probably be regarded as an exceptional occurrence. One trunk in Wallasey Pool might have been accounted for in the same way; but we have to account for hundreds, some of which grew and fell on a flat surface. Ormerod (*Hist. Chesh.* ii., 262) mentions the tradition, that "a man might have gone from tree-top to tree-top from the Meols Stocks to Birkenhead."

† Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, x. 265.

(3.) *There have been several land surfaces.*—This fact has been noticed incidentally, in the mention which occurs of the excavation for the Custom-house; but it requires to be specially referred to, for reasons which will be apparent. The line from Leasowe lighthouse along the shore to the Dove landmark, is nearly a mile and a half, and both extremities of it are interesting. At the latter place the antiquities are procured; at the former the land is low, and the irruptions of the sea are prevented by a large artificial embankment. At the Dove Point, a section to seaward presents the following appearances:*—



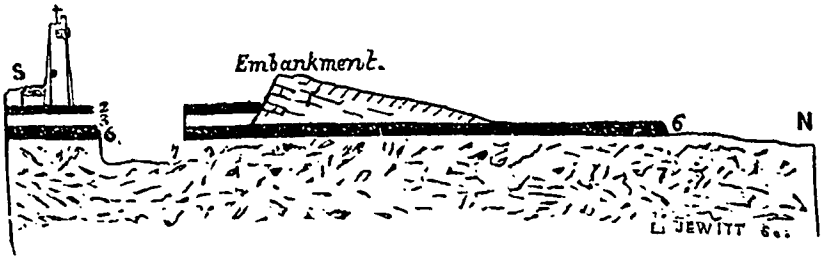
Strata at Dove Point.

1. The sandhills.
2. Peat bed about a foot thick (over which are traces of cultivation in sandy earth, with recent shells, bones, and teeth).
3. Blue silt, a foot thick.
4. Large forest bed, three feet thick, containing trunks of gigantic trees. *On this portion the principal Roman fibulæ have been found.*
5. Blue silt, between two and three feet thick, penetrated by vegetable fibre.
6. Lower forest bed, with remains of trees—a foot thick.
7. Boulder clay.

The tide rises to the base of the sandhills.

* On the 23rd September, 1862, I visited the spot in company with the members of the Liverpool Geological Society, and verified all these statements.

On comparing this with the section at the lighthouse, we see what beds disappear in the short distance :—



Strata at the Lighthouse.

The sandhills are absent.

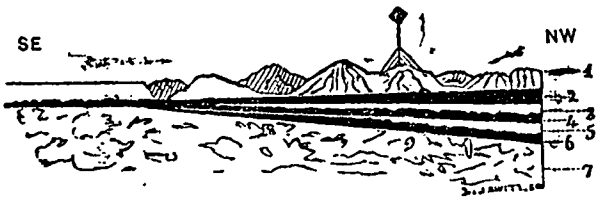
The land surface answers to No. 2 in the former section.

Numbers 4 and 5 are absent; but in their places we have a bed of drift sand two feet deep, marked 3 in this section. The lower submarine forest bed 6 is here, and the boulder-clay 7 beneath it.

Materials to form the embankment have been taken from the cutting between the lighthouse and it.

It was at one time supposed that these various forest beds, or land surfaces, rested upon sand, and that, as the action of the sea washed it from under the first or lowest, it sunk as far inland as the sea thus operated. This view is expressed in the following quotation—"We have all heard of submarine forests; that is, remnants of once sylvan ground, now covered by the sea at high water, and presenting stumps of large trees mingled with moss, sand, and silt. It was at first generally concluded that these submerged forests were proofs of local subsidence of the land in recent times. But Mr. John Cunningham of Liverpool, investigating the subject a few years ago, by the examination of the well-known Leasowe submerged forest at the mouth of the Mersey, found, on boring through the boulder clay, a quicksand, and has very reasonably suggested that the subsidence in these cases is caused by the attack of the sea upon the sand-beds of the boulder-clay, sweeping it out, and so causing the ground simply to collapse—

a minor, yet still interesting phenomenon."* But, while the three distinct surfaces can thus be accounted for, why are the facts at one spot so different from those of adjacent ones? Mr. Morton is satisfied that the three beds of black earth (numbered here 2, 4, and 6) converge towards the south or land side, the two lower becoming blended in one, as on the



Convergence of Strata towards the Shore, at Dove Point.

section near the lighthouse. It is only at a particular point, therefore, that we trace three distinct surfaces, all of them more or less below the tide. In the lowest we have no traces of man; in the second, or middle one, the proofs of his existence at the earliest period of our history are numerous; in the third, or upper one, they are still more abundant. It is not necessary here to examine the theories respecting the formation of these beds; it is sufficient for the purposes of the present work to shew the facts respecting their position and relations. We have no sufficient evidence to show who occupied the lowest of these forest beds; but the Romans and the contemporary tribes of the Cornavii (and probably the earliest Saxons), walked among the forests of the second. The early English people who inhabited the sea-margin, or made it a place for entrance and exit, lived upon the upper stratum, but further to seaward than the present coast line. This bed, though covered by the tide, and by deposits from it, is still continuous with the present surface.

* "Ice and Water; a Review of the Superficial Formation." By Robert Chambers, F.R.S.E., &c.

IV.—HISTORY.

For centuries before Liverpool and the Mersey had attracted the attention of mankind, the ancient city of Chester, and the river Dee on which it is situated, were well known. It was the Deva of the twentieth Roman legion; from the residence of whom it derived the two names by which it was afterwards known to the Britons and the Saxons respectively. To the former it was Caer-Legion,* the city of the legion; and to the latter Chester,† or the place of the camp; both of which names, it may be remarked, are common nouns rather than proper, and apply to several other places in England. Indeed, until the sixteenth century, and occasionally later, it was known, by way of distinction, as West Chester. ‡

But although the barks of the Romans, which were dignified by the common name of ships, could sail up to the walls of Chester, it is not to be supposed that they, or any of the navigators who succeeded them, were unacquainted with the district which we are now examining. It lay on the high-road to the sea; it was a "Chersonese," or peninsula, which they would be desirous to explore; and, though wild in parts, and most probably peopled with still wilder tribes, it evidently possessed a good deal of woodland scenery even to the margin of the sea. It would be morally certain, therefore, that the Romans were acquainted with the present neighbourhood of Great Meols, even without the numerous evidences of them

* Episcopus Lichefeldensis migravit in Cestriam, quæ olim *civitas Legionum* dicebatur. *Flor. Wigorn. in Monum. Hist. Brit. I.*, 644. Eadgerus, ... cum ingenti classe, Septentrionali Britannia circumnavigata, ad Legionum civitatem appulit. Ib. p. 578.

† They arrived at a western city in Wirheall which is called *Lega-ceastre. Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D.* 894, *in Monum. Hist. Brit. I.*, 367.

‡ The town, still known as Caer Leon in Monmouthshire, was also known to the Britons as Kair-Legion *(Hen. Huntendunens. Hist. Anglor. lib. I.)*; and, as it was for many years an Archbishopric, the distinctive term was applied to Chester on the Dee. *Bede in Monum. Hist. Britan. I.*, 151, *n.* "Called from its westerly situation *West*-Chester." *Moll's Compleat Geographer*, 1709, p. 32. "It is commonly called West Chester." *Bankes's Geog.* fol. *cir.* 1789.

which we have found in the shape of coins and fibulæ; but, with such evidence, it is undeniable. Indeed, it is probable that this position was occupied as an out-post, not only for the purpose of embarking and disembarking with greater facility in their sea journeys, but as a permanent outwork and place of observation.* It is just such as a skilful commander would select at any time, in a country owned by people for the most part barbarous, and held by military occupation.

Respecting several centuries there is little definite to be gleaned from history; but such knowledge as we possess of the peoples, the times, and the places, and the analogy of circumstances, enable us to fill up the void by conjecture that cannot be very wide of the reality. Shortly after the period of the Norman conquest, however, we find a glowing description of Chester, which indirectly brings before us the condition of the neighbouring districts. Lucian the monk treats thus of Chester:—

"Being in the west parts of Britain, it stood very convenient to receive the Roman legions that were transported hither; and, besides, it was proper for watching the frontiers of the empire, and was a perfect key to Ireland. For, being opposite to the north parts of Ireland, it opened a passage thither for ships and mariners continually in motion to and again."†

Elsewhere he says—"Chester itself is frequented by the Irish, is neighbour to the Welsh, and is plentifully served with provisions by the English;"‡ so that its connection with Ireland—then a place of much greater relative importance than it is now—is not only referred to more than once, but stated in detail. Yet, even at that early period it maintained intimate relations with other parts of the world; and, though the traders were few in number, they must have been

* It has been suggested by Mr. Hills, R.N., that Hilbre Island was a station for observation since very early times. Every ship from Chester was visible, whether an east wind carried it by Chester bar and along the Welsh coast, or a west wind carried it through the Hoyle lake and the Horse channel to the sea.

† Gibson's Camden, col. 559.

‡ Ib. 555.

much better known in a thin population, whose information, in a great degree, depended upon their own observation.

"God has blessed Chester on the south side with a harbour to ships coming from Gascoign, Spain, Ireland, and Germany; who by Christ's assistance, and by the labour and conduct of the mariners, repair hither, and supply them with all sorts of commodities; so that, being comforted by the grace of God in all things, we drink wine very plentifully, for those countries have abundance of vineyards." *

That many of these ships halted at the mouth of the Dee, or near the modern Hoylake, is certain; perhaps waiting for favourable winds, or in dread of the sand-banks, which then were more troublesome to the navigation than now, because they were less accurately known. During the incumbency of Richard, second Norman earl of Chester, or some little time previous to 1120, he was in danger at Basingwerk Abbey, near Holywell, in Flint; and the Constable of Chester passed down the right bank of the Dee, assuming, as a matter of course, that there would be plenty of ships to convey himself and his men across. As it happened, however, there was not one; and, had it not been for a miracle performed by St. Werburgh, in reply to intercession which a monk of the cell of Hilbre suggested, no relief could have been afforded. A new pathway across the Dee was raised up, known in after years as the Constable's sands. The important point, however, is that Bradshaw, the monk of Chester, writing at the close of the fifteenth century, represents the waters near the mouth of the Dee as a "royal road," night and day, for vessels during the twelfth century; thus corroborating what we learn from other sources.

The constable congregate in all goodly hast
A myghtye stronge host, in theyr best arraye,
Toward Hilburgee on iorney ridyng fast
Trusting upon shippes all them to convaye.
Which was a riall rode that tyme nyght and daye,
And when they thedyr came, shyppyng none there was,
To carie all them over in convenient space.

Life of St. Werburge.—Chetham Society, p. 188.

* Gibson's Camden, col. 559.

Owing to the accumulation of sand in the river, and the diminution of deep water, the port of Chester came to be practically abandoned,* and Shotwick, lower down, took its place.† But this, too, was abandoned a little later; and "Y^e Noo Key," above Neston, was commenced about 1569. For more than two hundred years, or till 1791, this, or Parkgate adjacent, was the principal point of traffic with Ireland, and latterly there was a regular packet communication at least four times a-week. But, whatever may have been the nominal port, the water near the Dove Point must long have constituted a halting-place; and there, we are told, that in the seventeenth century the larger vessels discharged part of their cargoes, to enable them to sail over the flats into the new and rising port of Liverpool. This would account for Meols being mentioned as a port; and it would account for such occurrences as that of 1585, in which sixteen pirates stole a ship out of Wirrall, but owing to contrary winds could not get clear off, and were taken. ‡

Chester had not only been the scene of the periodical performance of the "Mystery plays," but at the close of the sixteenth century it was the resort of minstrels and *jongleurs*, and in other respects a place of great refinement. But impressions of this kind frequently suffered a forcible contrast in the minds of its limited population. During the first two centuries after the conquest, it was the rendezvous of the English army employed against the Welsh; and, during several subsequent centuries, it was on the highway to Ireland.

The incessant passing of the military connected with the Irish service of settlers (undertakers, as they were called) on confiscated estates, and of soldiers oscillating between the low countries and Ireland; in

* The sea is not so kind as it has been formerly, having withdrawn itself, and deprived the city of the advantage of a harbour. *Moll.* p. 32.

† Great ships in times past, at full sea did come to Watergate in Chester; but the channel is now so choaked up with sand, that it will scarce give passage for small boats, insomuch that ships now come to a place called New Key, about six miles distant. *Blome's Britannia* (1673), p. 54.

‡ King's Vale Royal.

short, the constant presence of fierce reckless adventurers, sufficiently kept alive a warlike spirit. *

A few examples may suffice to show how great a thoroughfare Chester had become.

1594.—There came unto Chester at several times two thousand two hundred footmen and a thousand horsemen, to go to Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion of Hugh Fardorough, Earl of Tyrone: the mayor had much ado to keep the soldiers quiet, and caused a gibbet to be set up at the high cross, whereon three soldiers had like to have been hanged.

1595.—There came to Chester at several times two thousand four hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen, to go for Ireland. The clergy set forth the horsemen, whereof a hundred and fifty-two horse were sent for Ireland, the rest were sent back again, because they were not sufficient.

1596.—Nine hundred soldiers came to Chester, whereof five hundred were sent for Ireland, and the rest, staying for a wind, were discharged and sent away. Also in the beginning of May the soldiers went last over, and six hundred more were sent back again.

1597.—A thousand footmen, and two hundred and eighty horsemen, came at several times, and were sent into Ireland.

1598.—The Earl of Essex, lieutenant-general for the wars in Ireland, came unto Chester, and with him three other earls, besides many other lords, knights, and gentlemen, who were honourably received by the mayor and his brethren. A great army of soldiers went over to serve in Ireland, both horsemen and footmen, all under the command of the said earl.

1599.—The 14th of February the Lord Mountjoy, deputy of Ireland, and with him a great train, dined with the mayor the 17th of February, and departed towards Wales the 19th of February, to take shipping for Ireland.

1601.—Many soldiers were this year sent into Ireland. †

It will be obvious, however, from some of the following extracts, that sailing from Chester, or near it, really meant from any part of the waters of the Dee or Wirrall, though it is only

* Paper by Thomas Heywood, Esq. | Transactions of Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, v. 88.

† King's Vale Royal.

in a few cases that the precise point of embarkation is noticed.

1600.—The army, consisting in list of 4000 foote and 200 horse, whereof 3000 of the foote and all the horse were levied in England, the other 1000 foote were taken of the old companys about Dublin, and all assigned to meete att Knockfergus (Carrickfergus) the first of May; that part levyed in England was shipt at Helbree, neere vnto Westchester, on the 24th of Aprill, 1600. And of these a regiament of 1000 foote and 50 horse were to be taken out imediatelie vpon our landing, and assigned to Sr Mathew Morgan to make a plantation with att Ballishannon.

The provisions wee carried with vs at first were a quantetie of deale boards and sparrs of firr timber, a hundred flock bedds, with other necessaries, to furnish an hospitall wthall, one peece of demy cannon of brass, two culverins of iron, a master-gunner, two master-masons, and two master-carpenters, allowed in pay, wth a greate number of tooles and other vtensiles, and wth all victuell and munition requisite.

Soe wth these men from England, and these provisions aforesaide, on the xxvth day of Aprill wee sett saile, and on the 28th in the evening put in att Knockfergus, where we staide the space of 8 dayes before the companyes from Dublin came all vnto vs.*

In the following extract of a letter, from the Hon. James Dillon to Ralph Verney, Esq., the locality is alluded to in general terms as Chester Water.† It is dated Cloncullan, 24th October, 1631.

Within two or three dayes after my comming to the water-side from London, I (with many more) was entized a shipboarde by a flattering winde. Where we were noe sooner in a readinesse, and euen vppon the weighing of anchor, then there arose a terrible tempest. The winds blew beyonde measure high, and the rayne fell downe soe violently and soe fast, as one might haue thought that the flood-gates of heauen had beene sett wide open. We landed presently, and truely 'twas well for us that we could doe soe, for had we stayed aboarde our liues had been all endangered, though within harbor. How soe, doe you demande?

* "A Narration of the Services done by the Army ymployed to Loughfoyle, under the leading of mee Sir Henry Docwra, Kt." *Quo.* Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, p. 36.

† The term is common to the present hour. When used in reference to anchorage, it means the station known as Wild Road, near the Point of Air.

I will tell you, sir. Our barke was beaten vpp to a fulle sea-marke, where she had her bottome strucken out, and was vnseamed. Nor was it she alone that suffered in this storme. There was not a vessell on Chester water which escaped scott-free.*

In the spring of 1689, when it was known that King James had landed in Ireland, eighteen regiments of foot, and four or five of horse, were raised in England for service there. This was the first army sent forward under Duke Schomberg, and which suffered so severely in camp during the ensuing winter for want of suitable conveniences, and even necessaries.

1689.—In July most of them were commanded to Chester, in order to be shipped for Ireland.

Most of them encampt about a week at Neston, and then on Thursday, the 8th August, about six o'clock in the morning, His Grace, Duke Scomberg, General of all their Majesties' Forces, Count Solmes, General of the Foot, and several great officers more, with not ten thousand foot and horse, embarked at Highlake,† for Ireland.

The winds being cross they lay there till Monday, the 12th, when, at four o'clock in the morning, the wind being S.S.E. and S.E., the Bonaventure frigate (Captain Hobson, commander) fired a gun, and put his light to the main topmast shrouds, that being the signal for sailing. There was also the Antelope, the James galley, the Cleaveland, and the Monmouth yats, with between eighty and ninety vessels more, who all were under sail at six o'clock, and at eight the Bonaventure put out an ensign in the mizen shrouds for all the Captains and Masters to come on board, which done, they received orders to sail directly for Carrickfergus Bay in Ireland.‡

In the following summer large reinforcements of military passed over at several times. The account of one of these is given by Dean Davies. §

* Verney Papers, Camden Society, pp. 148, 149.

† John Van Zoelen, apparently one of the officers in the Duke's army, died here on 3rd of September, and is buried in West Kirkby church. He was formerly of Bristol; and he appears to have become ill about the time of the embarkation. See references to him in Leigh's Lancashire, p. 29; Ormerod's Hist. Chesh., ii. 267; and Transact. of Hist. Soc., vii. 15.

‡ Impartial History of the Affairs in Ireland; written by an eyewitness to the most remarkable passages, 1691, p. 6. (From the edition of 1693, it appears that he was the Rev. George Storey, chaplain to the regiment, formerly Sir Thomas Gower's, afterwards the Earl of Drogheda's.)

§ Diary, Camden Society, p. 108, &c.

1690.—April 26 (Sat.)—We dined at our lodgings (in Chester), and after dinner they all grew very busy in sending their things away to Hoylake, where lay our recruits of horse, being four hundred, and the Nassau and Brandenburg regiments.

27th (Sund.)—In the morning all our sparks were in a great hurry, the wind presenting fair.

May 3rd (Sat.)—In the afternoon I put my trunks, bed, saddle, and hat-case on board Mr. Thompson's boat, and sent them to Hoylake, where they were shipped off with the Major's things.

May 6th (Tues.)—In the morning we took horse for Hoylake, and, passing by Neston, we came there about one o'clock. At our coming we found the commissary at the parson's at dinner with Count Scravenmore, where we waited on him, and got an order for a ship to carry eighteen horses and twenty-three men. Then we dined at one Barker's, where it cost us each two shillings, and in the evening we went to a farmer's house, where Frank Burton and I lay together. The surgeon being of our quarters, we supped at the Major's quarters, about a quarter of a mile from us, and parted in the evening, with a resolution to be on board at nine in the morning, but the Major's tumbril having a wheel broken within two miles of Chester, it gave us some trouble.

May 7th (Wed.)—In the morning we breakfasted at our quarters, and paid for ourselves and horses three shillings each. Then about nine o'clock came on board, and at eleven shipped our horses, all but the Major's carriage, which was not yet come up. The Major and I walked a mile on the strand, and went into two islands * in the bay, and then came on board, all the rest of our company being on board another ship drinking; they all came to us in the evening, and we lay on board all night.

May 8th (Thurs.)—Sir William Russell, Frank Burton, and I, went on shore to a French suttler's, and at our return the Major's tumbril came up. In the afternoon we shipped it, and came down to the roads' mouth, where we lay at anchor all night.

May 9th (Frid.)—In the morning we set sail; the wind being E.N.E., and steered N.W. by N.; we had but little wind, and got not out of sight of Wales all day.

We are here made acquainted with several facts incidentally, at some of which we might have arrived reasoning from

* Probably Hilbre and the Middle eye, the former of which is described in Blome's Britannia (1673), as "a barren Isle called Hilbre, which, at low water, may be passed over on the sand," p. 52.

probabilities. Thus (1.) it is clear that it was not unusual for boats to take luggage, and probably merchandise, down the river and over the flats to the deep water. (2.) It is not unlikely that the accident to the major's tumbril was caused by the bad state of the roads. (3.) We find that the farmers of the parish of West Kirkby, about Grange, Neston, and Meols, made charges like hotels for the accommodation afforded to officers billeted on them;* and (4.) Hoylake (the water) is referred to, but there is no notice of a village.

In the following month, William III., who, though king of England, was as yet only Prince of Orange in Ireland, passed over to lead his united forces in person. The army was encamped on the Wallasey Leasowes; but this was the general name for the long plain of meadow land, of which Great Meols, near the Dove Point, forms a part. He was at Chester on Sunday the 10th of June, and attended divine service in the Cathedral; and, passing down the river's side that afternoon, he slept at the house of William Glegg, Esq., of Gayton, whom he afterwards knighted.† It appears that on that very day Samuel Atkinson of the Transport Office at Hoylake, engaged, by the king's order, Edward Tarlton, master of the ship James of Liverpool, to serve as his pilot to Carrickfergus;‡ and they sailed on the

* Sometimes there was great difficulty in obtaining accommodation at Chester, especially when the numbers which passed through were large. It should be borne in mind that its population probably was short of 5000 rather than in excess of it; for in 1801 there were only 14,550 within the old boundaries of the city. Dean Davies gives the following under date (Wednesday) 23rd April:—

"At our coming we were severely put to to get entertainment, and, had not the Earl (of Orrery) got a billet from his colonel at the Golden Lion, we must have stayed in the streets. Here we got into a stable very ill accommodated, and a dog-hole of a lodging ten times worse. My brother and I lay in a bed not five feet long nor four broad, under a pair of stairs, being so small that we could not both go in together, but one was forced to stay in the earl's room while the other went to bed."

† Paper by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., in the Transactions of the Historic Society, v. 5.

‡ It does not appear that he was ever remunerated, though, August 20, 1695, an order was made to pay his widow £43 8s. 0d.

12th * (actually Thursday but called Wednesday) from a place near the present Hoylake village, still known as the King's Gap.

On Wednesday,† June 12, in the morning, His Majesty, accompanied with His Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark, and several other persons of quality, embarked at Highlake, and the same afterwards went out to sea, but the wind wavering made not much way that day; but on Friday,† the 14th, the wind proving fair, made amends for the slowness of the two former days sailing; and on Saturday, about three in the afternoon, His Majesty came into the Lough of Carrickfergus, with the whole fleet that attended him.‡

It will thus be evident that the locality of Great Meols, near the Dove Point, on the plain of the Wallasey Leasowe, was not always the retired and almost unknown spot that it is at present. Within the limits of a single century we show that many thousands of soldiers and civilians, infantry and cavalry, passed near or over the spot; and therefore vast and varied must have been the multitude, notwithstanding the scantiness of population, which, during at least two thousand years, trod its sands, or rested beneath the foliage of its forest trees, or sailed upon its waters.

V.—ETHNOLOGY.

BEFORE the town of Liverpool had attained any commercial greatness, indeed, before it had secured a place upon the map, different tribes and peoples passed over the lands in the immediate neighbourhood, or made them their temporary residence. We know little of many of these, but we can tell at least something of several of them; for it is the province of Ethno-

* There is a tradition to the effect that William III. visited Liverpool before sailing, and the date is fixed as the 11th. It is obvious from these dates that he had sufficient time to do so, but direct evidence is desirable.

† Dr. Mullenaux has mistaken either the days of the week or of the month.

‡ A Journal of the Three Months' Royal Campaign of His Majesty in Ireland, by Samuel Mullenaux, M.D. London: 1690.

logy, as of other departments of science, to discover laws from minute facts, and to read perhaps the name, the history, and the manners of a race, from the few and faint impressions which their footsteps have left.

The Mersey, like the Humber, was the southern limit of the great kingdom of Northumbria, and it is said that Alfred's division of the shires into hundreds did not interfere with Lancashire. The Dee, again, which for several miles of its course is nearly parallel with the Mersey, at the distance of only a few miles, separated the ancient Britons from the invaders; or the tribes of Cambria from those who inhabited England Proper.* But it must not be supposed that the whole area, or even a large part of it, was covered with population; on the contrary, except in towns and villages, or along leading pathways, river margins, or the sea-coast, population scarcely existed in the earlier periods of English history. The greater part of the hundred of Wirrall, which with the whole county formed part of the ancient Mercia, was a forest; and similar forests, but less extensively wooded, existed at Toxteth and Croxteth, on the Lancashire side of the river. To the north of Liverpool, a large tract of low land was only nominally

* Bradshaw, about the year 1500, giving the limits of Mercia, states that the name is derived from the river Mersey. This seems to be inverting the order of cause and effect, as the river may be derived from the name of the country. Mercia is usually said to mean, the border land ("the Marches," *Worsaæ*), because bordering on the other kingdoms; like the *Merse* in Berwickshire, the *Marches* of Scotland and Wales, and numerous other cognate words.

This realme to dyscrybe, begyn we shall
At the Cytee of Chester, and the water of Dee,
Bytweene Englande and Wales of the west partye.
The water of Humbre was on the north syde,
With the water of Mersee theyr landes to diuyde.

Of the foresayd ryuer and water of Mersee,
The Kynge of Mercyens taketh his name,
As moost sure dyuydent to be had in memorye,
Mesurynge and metynge the bondes with great fame,
Of Mersee and Northumberlande, kynges of the same,
Betweene Chesshyr and Lancashyr their kingdomes certayne,
As auncyent Cronycles descryben it full playne.

The principal cities and towns within the limits of Mercia are enumerated by Bradshaw from the old Chronicles, as follows:—Chester, Stafford, Lytchefelde, Coventre, *Lyncolne*, Huntyngdon, Northampton, *Leycester*, *Derby*, Cambrydge, Oxonford, Worchester, Brystowe, and Herforde. Three of these, in italics, were among the Five Burghs that belonged to the Danes.—*Worsaæ*, p. 31.

possessed by man; it was in reality a marsh, unproductive as pasture, and still more so for purposes of cultivation. A similar marsh existed, and, as we have seen, still exists, on the Cheshire side. Some suppose that the Mersey was originally an inland lake, communicating with the sea through Wallasey Pool, along Bidston Marsh, and out by Leasowe lighthouse; and, without either admitting or rejecting this hypothesis, there are facts which give it an air of considerable probability. In either case, the propositions to which I wish to give prominence will readily be admitted; viz., *first*, that, from physical causes, the population who nominally inhabited the country were actually restricted within comparatively narrow limits; and, *second*, that we must search within those limits for indications of a really ancient character.

If we turn to histories and chronicles, we find that amongst the earliest inhabitants were the *Brigantes* in Lancashire, whose character is in part indicated by the word "brigand," derived from them; and the *Cornavii* in Cheshire. The Roman people were long and intimately connected with Chester, which constituted the home of the Twentieth Legion; and the memorials of their residence may still be seen in various parts of the city. At a subsequent period the Saxon element was strong on both sides of the Mersey, and Chester became a Saxon frontier town, from which a dynasty of earls or princes derived their title. In their Saxon character both Cheshire and Lancashire were alike; though they belonged to different kingdoms of the heptarchy.

In 894, the Danish sea-king Hastings arrived at Chester, and took and fortified it; but he was eventually driven out by Alfred, and forced to retreat through North Wales.*

* A.D. 894.—"When they had come into Essex, to their fortress and their ships, then the survivors again gathered a great army from among the East Angles and the Northumbrians, before winter, and committed their wives, and their ships, and their wealth to the East Angles, and went at one stretch, day and night, until they arrived at a western city in Wirral, which is called Lega-ceaster. Then were the forces unable to come

This, however, was not the only visit of the Danes; for, though the indications of their presence are stronger at a greater distance from Liverpool, in Lancashire, they are here sufficiently plain to show that settlements had been effected, and permanent interests cultivated.* The relation of the Normans to the district is better known, but they never formed a large portion of the population; and, except as mere masters or lords of the soil, they exercised but a small influence on the people.

If we turn to examine an ordinary map, we find these facts singularly illustrated. For example, in the same manner as in the north of Ireland or the south of Scotland, we occasionally meet with a Celtic name which has survived amid a thoroughly Saxon population; as Llandegan and Inch, Meols and Dove, all obviously of Welsh origin. In Lancashire we have similar examples, which it is unnecessary to notice here.

If we follow the line of water, along the river's margin or the sea-coast, or both, we find the traces of the Danes in the names of places. Thus, between Parkgate and the mouth of the Dee, we have Pens*by*, Ir*by*, Frank*by*, Greas*by*, and Kirk*by*†

up with them before they were within the fortress; nevertheless they beset the fortress about for some two days, and slew all the cattle that was there without, and slew the men whom they were able to overtake without the fortress, and burned all the corn, and with their horses ate it. And this was about a twelvemonth after they first came hither over sea."—*Saxon Chronicle.*

* There is a St. Olave's Church in Chester, named from Olaf, King and Saint, in whose reign (1001-26) Christianity was introduced into Sweden. From a church dedicated to the same saint in London, the name Tooley Street (St. Olave's Street) is derived. The Chester Church is noticed by Worsaæ, as well as St. Olave's Lane. —*Danes and Norwegians*, p. 39. The Danish names Kirkby, Kirkdale, Crosby, serve to show that when they were given, Christianity had been introduced; in other words, that they were not given by mere predatory mariners, but by persons resident, and in an advanced stage of civilization.

† The termination "by (*Old Northern* bÿr, first a single farm, afterwards a town in general), as in Kirby or Kirkby, Risby, &c.; ey or oe, an isle; dale, haugh, or how (*Scandinavian*, hauge, a hill);" . . . . together with many others.—*Worsaæ, Danes and Norwegians*, p. 67. See also Professor Munch's Geographical Elucidations of Scottish and Irish Local Names occurring in the Sagas; Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, (1845-49) p. 208, (1850-60) p. 61; and Orthographie des Quelques Anciens Noms Propres Nordiques, p. 162.

(West), besides *Thing*wall. At the mouth of the Mersey we have Kirk*by* in Walley, or Wallasey; and north of Liverpool, *Kirk*dale, Cros*by*, Ains*dale*, Birk*dale*, and Form*by*. Further inland, the Saxon names predominate, and in all probability belong to a later period; as Bebing-ton, Old-field, Wood-church, Up-ton; like Everton, Litherland, Thornton, Huyton, &c., on the Lancashire side.

Worsaæ notices one of these places as follows:—

"The name of the village of Thingwall, in Cheshire, affords a remarkable memorial of the Assizes, or *Thing*, which the Northmen generally held in conjunction with their sacrifices to the gods; it lies, surrounded by several other villages with Scandinavian names, on the small tongue of land that projects between the mouths of the rivers Dee and Mersey. At that time they generally chose for the holding of the *thing*, or assizes, a place in some degree safe from surprise. The chief ancient *thing* place was called like this Thingwall, namely, Thing-valla; originally, the *thing-fields*." *

In the Lancashire and Cheshire dialect the aspirate is assumed or rejected at will, and it is somewhat capriciously assumed or rejected in the proper names of every language. Thus we have Oreb and Horeb, Annibal and Hannibal, Jerusalem and Hierusalem; and, in our own case, Ilbre and Hilbre. I have not found an example of the aspirate being prefixed to the termination *eye* or is-land, which occurs elsewhere on the Dee, as in the Roodee (or Island of the Cross) at Chester. Such a prefix would give us a simpler translation of *Heye-pol*, as it would then be the pool of the island, and almost the exact equivalent of "lacus de Hildburg eye." The imparting of the name *hoes* to the sandhills, indicates the current use of Scandinavian common nouns, as no doubt in other cases also.† Nor are the kindred Saxon terms wanting.

* The Danes and Norwegians, p. 70.

† The following are a few out of many words of Danish origin, which are still current in this part of Cheshire:—*bede*, to pray; *bid*, to invite; *bide*, to stay; *frem folks*, strangers; *kitling*, a young cat; *read*, to arrange with a comb; *rid*, to remove; *rise*, underwood; *scarn*, ordure of beasts; *skrike*, to cry out; *sleck*, to quench; *thack*, to thatch; *uphold*, to maintain; *wark*, ache or pain. Compare Wilbraham's Glossary of Cheshire Words, 1836, and Worsaæ's Danes and Norwegians in England, pp. 85, 86.

From the Report of the Charity Commissioners, in reference to Cheshire, it appears that the termination *hey* occurs with unusual frequency in the names of fields in the parish of West Kirkby. It is the same word which we find in Lancelots-hey, Hackins-hey, Tempest-hey, and Court-hey, of our own times; or the Barne-, Milne-, Kilne-, Parlour-, Sconce-, and Walnote-heys of the map of Liverpool, 1650. It is sometimes spelled Hay, and Haw (Saxon, *haeg*), and denotes a close or small piece of land near a house. Camden expounds it, "a little meadow lying in a valley."*

In connection with *local* names one remark may be made respecting *personal* names. It is generally stated that surnames became common in the twelfth century, or at a period when all these sets of people had made themselves known in the neighbourhood, and had employed their respective languages in the formation of names of places. Now, there is not a county in England in which a greater coincidence exists, than in Lancashire, between the names of persons and of places. Almost every township has given origin to a family surname; and the same may be said, to a somewhat less extent, of Cheshire, yet, as it has been remarked, in this Hundred there is an unusual preponderance of Welsh names. Though some of these surnames, like Liverpool, are extinct, or, like Birkenhead, are nearly so, in general they survive in numerous representatives, not a few of whom are still, as at the first, the lords of the soil. Accordingly, we have indications of invasion, immigration, and change, not only on the surface of a well-constructed map;—there are secondary and corroborative evidences even in the pages of a Directory!

When we consider that, in addition to these, the district was frequently visited by the Irish, both in friendship and hostility, and that the soldiers to and from Ireland usually passed near or over this spot, we are prepared for the miscellaneous character which these relics present to us. In Wales

* Bailey's Dict.

they might be ancient British remains; in Chester, Roman; or in some spot of Lancashire, Saxon or Danish. But a spot which was exclusive to none, and on the road travelled by all,* is likely to afford traces of more than one section of the people by whom it has been occupied. We are thus prepared, *a priori*, to examine a miscellaneous collection, the details of which are here to be presented to the reader.

VI.—HYDROGRAPHY.

1.—Charts.

The first authentic chart of the neighbouring shores, and the first English one which we possess, is that of Captain Grenville Collins, the survey for which was conducted about 1687.† Considering the avowed purpose for which this was undertaken—viz., for coasting service, and the avoidance of known dangers—it is clear that the survey was made in a more superficial manner than would be considered satisfactory at present. But it was no doubt important at the time; and it is still useful as a point of departure for further information. It may be remarked that Mercator's projection was designed and published in 1550, and that it was only in 1599 that it had been

* About the year 792, King Edgar was rowed down the Dee at Chester by eight tributary kings, four keeping stroke at each side. The countries to which they respectively belonged, sufficiently show the extensive intercourse which Chester and the neighbourhood maintained with other portions of the British Islands. They were Kenneth III. of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumberland, Macon of the Isle of Man, James of Galloway, Howell of North Wales, Owen of South Wales, and two joint or supplementary rulers, Sfreth of South Wales, and Inkil of Cumberland.

† Great Britain's Coasting Pilot; by Captain Grenville Collins, Hydrographer in Ordinary to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. London: folio, 1693. He had been appointed in 1682, by Charles II., to make out sea-charts or maps, and a yacht had been given to him for the purpose, in which he spent seven years. This part was surveyed in 1687, and the report was given in in 1689. All previous charts for England had been made by the Dutch, and were sometimes very erroneous.

Note that the depth of Water is set down in Fathams at Low Water on a Spring tide at which time the Tides rise five Fathams and 3½ at a neap Tyde.
A Scale of Englis miles.
Flint Towne
Flint Castle
Keyhouse
Key
Nesson
Park gate
Beerhouse
Gayton hall
Heswell
Eerboyshall
Berket Poole
Berkenhead Hall
Woodside
Dorpoole
Cauldy Mill
Kerby Church
Grangewood Hill
Grang Mill
Kerby
Grangwood
Eye I.
Red Rock
Hilbre I.
Banquetting house
Bidston
Wallissey Poole
Seacombe
Wallissey
Seable
Sand hills
Mock-Beggar hall
Low Land
Hose End
Sand hills
Wallissey Race
Doue
Black Rock
All dry at Low-water
Burbo Sand
Dry the first quarter Ebb
Horse Channel
East Spit
Formby Sand
Hyle Sand
Part Dry at high water on a Neap Tyde
Wild
Hawkes Nest
3 Hills
Dunlackary
Prestaton
Cluyn R.
Rudd land Cas
Vorid
CHESTER BARR
Middle Patch
West Spitt
Low water Mark
Patch
Bowling greene
Banck hall
Bootell Mill

adapted to sea-charts; so that the science of hydrography was almost in its infancy at the time of Collins.

With him the Dee was the primary river, and the Mersey only secondary; and he mentions "Nesson" and Dorpool, lower down than Chester, "where you may anchor in three-fathom water." What is now the East and West Hoyle Bank, was then one continuous piece of sand called Hail or Hyle sand, which was never invisible except at high-water of spring-tides, and even then was shown by the ripple. The alterations in the course of the Dee have cut it in two, removing by the tidal scour more than one hundred and fifty millions of cubic yards of sand, and depositing it at points where the water is in a condition of less activity. Captain Collins gives directions for sailing along the outer margin of the Hoyle Bank, "and so into Hyle or Hyle-lake, and anchor. Here the great ships that belong to Liverpool put out part of their lading, till the ships are light enough to sail over the Flats to Liverpool. There is a channel near Formby to go into Liverpool, where it is three fathoms at low water, but this place is not buoyed or beaconed, and so not known."

In 1730 a chart was published by C. Price, and dedicated to Joseph Taylor, Esq., but it was nothing more or less than a slavish copy of Collins's; even the sailing directions of 1687 being copied half a century later. It added nothing, therefore, to our knowledge of the relations of land and water, but, on the contrary, was calculated to mislead. It was not till 1736-7, that the valuable chart of Fearon and Eyes was executed, published in Liverpool the year after.* It possessed a very marked superiority over all previous charts; for, while the authors assert that no instruments had been employed before their time but the magnetic needle, they had themselves the aid of Hadley's sextant, which had become known in 1731, though

* A Description of the Sea-coast of England and Wales, from Black Comb in Cumberland, to the Point of Anglesea in Wales, &c. According to actual survey made thereof during the years 1736-7.

its full value and capabilities were not recognized until some years after. In 1755 an amended edition of this chart was published from surveys executed in that year by Messrs. Sumner and Eyes; but few alterations are noted in reference to Hoylake. It appears also, that between 1760 and 1762 another survey was made by Murdoch M'Kenzie, published in 1776; and this was followed by a further amended chart of Eyes in 1767, from which it is shown that the new channel was silting up with sand, and that the depth of water in Hoylake had been considerably reduced.* The reduction of water continued, owing to the same causes, until Captain Denham presents us with the following remarkable contrast, in the year 1844 :—

"We look back only 150 years, and perceive *Hyle-lake half a mile* wide, with 15 feet water at its western, and 30 feet at its eastern entrance; sheltered from N. E. to N. W. by one extensive sand-bank, only covered at high water springs, and known as *Hyle-sand.* At the present time we behold it as a mere dyke, of 70 fathoms wide, having but 18 feet water retained at low water, in a small pool a quarter of a mile long at its centre, with but 2 feet at its western entrance instead of 15, and actually *dry* across its eastern, where there *were* 30 feet at low water!!" †

2.—Lighthouses.

The subject of Lighthouses is one of much interest. In 1670 a Mr. Reading obtained a patent in connection with their construction; but so little was understood respecting their use, that the Mayor of Liverpool (Thomas Johnson, Esq.), and other eminent burgesses, petitioned against them. The members of parliament for the town were then Sir Gilbert Ireland of Hale and Sir William Bucknall of London, to the former of whom the letter ‡ from the town was addressed. It appears, however,

* For much valuable information respecting Charts and Lighthouses, and indeed on the general subject, I am indebted to the valuable Essay on the Hydrography of the Mersey Estuary, by Graham H. Hills, Esq., Master R.N., Assistant Marine Surveyor, Liverpool, 1858.

† Denham's Mersey and Dee, p. 96.

‡ Sir G. Ireland's endorsement—
"A lre from Mr. Johnson, Mayr of liverpoole."
On the back of the letter—
"To the Honoble Sr Gilbert Ireland, a Member in Parliamt."

that their remonstrances were unsuccessful, for in the course of that very year the act was passed, making the Corporation of Liverpool "Trustees of the Liverpool Docks and Harbour;" and, according to the usual practice, other matters related were introduced. Thus, authority was granted to construct lighthouses at the entrance of the port, and to collect light dues; but the latter were not to be levied till at least four lighthouses were erected and in use on the Cheshire shore, within a mile of high-water mark. Though the Rock Perch was well known long before that date, probably as a look-out station, the Act declares that there were then "no lighthouses or other lights erected and set out."

Now we know that of the four existing lights (one at Bidston, one at Leasowe, and two at Hoylake), three still occupy their original positions, but that the fourth, viz., that at Bidston, replaces some other; for it is not in compliance with the original requirements, inasmuch as it is not on the shore, nor within a mile of the tide.* Is it so, that there was such an old and superseded one, and if so, where did it stand?

It appears from a table of light dues in *Enfield's Liverpool*,† that the levying of them commenced 27th February, 1764; so that the lights must have been "erected and set out" by that

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Sir,

Yesterday we received a copie of the Ord^{r} inclosed, wherein you will understand what day the Comitee for Grievances will meet to consider of Reading's Pattent on Lighthouses. Therefore, wee make it our humble request to you, that on behalfe of this Burrough you will be pleased to appeare in Parliam^{t}, at or before that tyme. In regard *those lighthouses will be no benefit to our Mariners, but a hurt, and expose them to those dangers if* [*they*] *trust to them, and also be a very great and unnecessary burden and charge to them.*

We are, Sir,

Your most humble Servants,
THOMAS JOHNSON.
THOMAS ANDOE.
HENRY CORKEY.
JOHN STURZAKER.
THOMAS BICK^{E}STETH.

Liverpoole, 5th Jan.,
[16]70.

The Mayor was father of Thomas Johnson, afterwards knighted, from whom "Sir Thomas's Buildings" are named. The date of the letter was really 1671; but the number of the old year was given by mistake.

* By additional powers afterwards obtained, it was qualified to serve.

† P. 87*.

time. It further appears, from *Hutchinson's Treatise on Practical Seamanship, &c.,** that "there were no lighthouses until the year 1763, at which time four were erected—two large ones, called the Sea Lights, leading through the channel to and in from the sea, till the two lesser, Hoylake lights, are brought on a line."

In the year 1771, Mackenzie describes the Sea Lights as follows:—"There are two lighthouses *on the shore*, to direct ships through the Horse Channel; one of which is moveable and stands near Mockbeggar, the other on the top of Bidston Hill." This passage, rightly understood, furnishes the explanation required.

1. There were two lighthouses "on the shore," which is not the case with that at Bidston; yet it was necessary to complete the line of light. Now, unvarying tradition asserts that the present one at Leasowe was originally the inner or landward one, but that owing to a fire its interior woodwork was all consumed. Nothing would be more natural, therefore, than to erect a light instead of it in the same line, viz., on Bidston Hill; and thus the outer or seaward light, and that at Bidston, formed the two, till the repairs to the injured one were completed.

2. The outer one was moveable, analogous, no doubt, to the outer one at Hoylake, which was a wooden structure twenty-five feet high, with a suspended lantern. A picture of it is seen on the margin of Burdett's chart, 1771.† It is said to have been in existence till 1794. When the present Leasowe lighthouse was repaired, a stone one was erected at Bidston, and eventually both wooden ones disappeared. It is possible that this outer or seaward lighthouse at Leasowe may have been washed away, or some of the buildings connected with it, when their uses had ceased. There is a tradition to that effect in the families of the lighthouse keepers. The line upon which it stood is a continuation of that drawn through Bidston and

* P. 187, quoted by Mr. Hills. | † Enfield's Liverpool.

Leasowe lights; and the distance between the two would correspond with that between the two Hoylake lighthouses. We therefore not merely ascertain the fact of its existence, but can fix its position with tolerable accuracy. It stood upon land now washed away, beyond the embankment, and on the black earth which covers the boulder-clay.

3.—Relation of Land and Water.

During the greater part of the seventeenth century, Liverpool had no dock; but a sloping bank of sand or mud, covering the substratum of rock, intervened between it and the river. This is shown upon a map of 1565,* and also in a plan of the castle and fortifications of Liverpool, 1644.† The fact serves to explain in some degree the remark of Collins—"the ships lie aground before the town of Liverpool, by reason of the strong tides that run here."

In 1709, an Act was passed for the construction of the first Liverpool dock; and power was conferred at the same time to erect landmarks and place buoys. Additional powers were afterwards required and obtained; and the buoying and marking of the channels was completed by Christmas-day, 1718.

It is unnecessary to trace further the history of our Liverpool docks; but one thing in common with this and other improvements requires to be noticed. It is the tendency to increase the land, and to abridge the domain of the sea. The Liverpool docks have been said to be merely "an amendment of the river;" but if they give greater depth of water, they compress the channel within narrower limits. The same effect has been produced by the enclosure of the lands near the mouth of the Alt, in accordance with the Act of 1742; by the drainage of Wallasey marsh, and by the recovery of marsh lands up the Mersey, near Frodsham and Ince. This has abstracted an area of about 13,000 acres. In like manner, the Dee has been restricted to the limits of a canal below Chester,

* Bib. Reg. B.M., 18 D. III. | † Addl. MSS. B.M., 5027, A. 62.

and has been made to occupy a new site; so that miles of the county of Flint now lie on the Cheshire side of it; and, where ships sailed and fisheries were conducted, we find hay mown and cattle grazing.

On the margin of a map by John Mackay, mathematician, published in 1732, is the following respecting the New Cut, near Chester:—

1. That ye almost straight and uninterrupted course of ye river is to be turned through an inexperienced Cutt, and from thence through uncertain crooked channels over loose shifting sands.

2. That ye land and soyle in ye Cutt is no less than six millions of solid yards, ye greatest part thereof is proposed to be scoured as fast as possible towards Hoyle Lake and ye Barr.

3. Between Chester, Flint, and Parkgate, 7000 or 8000 acres are proposed to be gained from ye sea, by which means no less than 200 millions of tons of tyde will be prevented from flowing twice (twice in 24 hours), which on ye reflux requireth the greater velocity to scour and keep open ye Lake and ye Barr.

Whether these ill consequences, which must certainly attend the present undertaking, are not more likely to destroy the present navigation in Hoyle Lake and the River Dee, rather than to recover and preserve a better, is humbly submitted to ye Right Hon. ye House of Lords.

It is not probable that the whole area occupied by water was ever very different from what it is now, with the exception of these low marsh lands; and the distribution of sand-banks, and opening and closing of channels, evidently follows a law, the exact nature of which we cannot yet explain. But enough has been said for our purpose; which was (1) to show that the present shore* at Meols, and along the whole "sea-bord" of Cheshire, is not that which existed several centuries ago; (2) that the spacious "Heye-pol," or "lacus de Hildeburgeye," has become narrowed; (3) that the level of the bottom has risen from seven to seventeen feet above low-water level, and (4) that the existence of causes has been shown, more than adequate to produce the effects to which our remarks refer.

* For further remarks respecting the Tidal Limits and Area, I may refer to the Report and Memoir of the Survey of the River Mersey, made in 1860-61, by order of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, 1862.

PART II.—THE OBJECTS.

SECTION I.—INTRODUCTORY.

I.—FINDING OF THE OBJECTS.

In the spring of 1846 I happened to be in the parsonage of Hoylake, the village which is situated in the township of Hoose, near the mouth of the Dee, between Great and Little Meols. Observing on the chimneypiece a Roman fibula, (engraved Pl. IV. fig. 1,) a little hammer-shaped object like the tongue of a hand-bell, (Plate XXIX. fig. 13,) and other articles, I borrowed them for the purpose of exhibiting them at the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. This was, at that time, the only society in the town which included Archæological pursuits as part of its general objects.

It appeared that these and numerous other metallic articles had been found by an old man in the village. He had resided there since 1810; and, since about 1828, he had amused himself at intervals with picking up curious pieces of metal when the tide had retired. He did not attach much importance to them, and the best of them were given to children as toys; as the fibula and other objects had been which first arrested my attention.

I soon made the acquaintance of this man and procured his whole stock, which consisted in a great degree of fragments of buckles, rings, pins, &c., with a good many pieces of metal which appeared never to have taken shape from the hand of any artist. It served the purpose, however, of being suggestive; and with no better materials than these, and the few select articles which Mrs. Longueville of the parsonage had preserved, the first formal exhibition of them was made.

About May, 1846, I took them with me to Edinburgh, and drawings of several of the most interesting of them were made by Mr. J. Noel Paton, whom I met in his native town of Dunfermline. These drawings, again, attracted the attention of Mr. Albert Way, who wrote to me fully and encouragingly on the subject; and a brief account of them was read in July of that year at the Congress of the Archæological Institute in York, where they were all exhibited. A similar account was read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, and published in 1847 as a separate pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, with sixty objects engraved.

Attention having been thus drawn to the subject, intelligence was brought in from time to time respecting other groups of articles of the same kind. It was ascertained that three separate persons had carried away small collections, regarding them merely as curiosities; but not one of them appeared to have the slightest idea that the objects were antiquities, or of any value whatever as illustrations of human practice or human progress. Though immediate inquiry was instituted, not one of these objects was ever recovered.

It is extremely probable that other collections, more or less numerous, have passed away in a similar manner, no importance being attached to them on the grounds which constitute their real merit, while one or two articles which were inherently curious or useful, or of valuable materials, were preserved from destruction. For example, I was informed by the late Dr. Traill of Edinburgh, in 1846, that a few years before—apparently before 1837—a large number of curious articles in metal had been picked up on the Hoyle Bank. They presented several characteristics similar to those of the objects which I shewed him, viz.:—(1) they were of a miscellaneous character in regard to the uses which they had been intended to serve; (2) they were of various dates; and (3) they were apparently very numerous. Though he referred me to several individuals in Liverpool as likely to possess

some of them, yet, as in the case of the previous "finds," I was not able to trace a single article.

About Christmas, 1858, I was accidentally made acquainted with the fact, that some objects of this class, found on the shore of Great Meols, were in the possession of P. B. Ainslie, Esq., of Guildford, in Surrey. He had been a merchant in Liverpool, and had known the town since 1804. In 1817 a fisherman named Buchanan brought to him a large collection of ancient metallic objects, which he said he had found at an unusually low tide, near the submarine forest on that part of the Cheshire coast. Mr. Ainslie visited the site on many occasions after this, and his examination of it is the first which is on record, while his specimens are the earliest found of all those with which we are acquainted.

In the close of March, 1859, I visited him, and made rude sketches from nearly a hundred of the Cheshire antiquities which he still retained. Many objects had been given away to friends, but those which remained embraced fibulæ, brooches, finger-rings, hair-pins, buckles, leaden crosses, keys, a curious stone implement, a tobacco-pipe, coins, several needles, &c. One or two of the finger-rings exhibited traces of blue enamel.

I had drawings carefully made of twenty-one of the most interesting of these objects, and sixteen of them are reproduced somewhere on the accompanying plates.

Before the facts respecting Mr. Ainslie's collection had become known, but after attention had been drawn to the locality and the objects, the researches of numerous observers met with an ample reward. One who knew where to look and what to observe, hardly ever returned from the shore empty-handed; and the farmers and other residents on the coast soon learned that they could find a ready market for all they could collect. The names of one or two of the more recent explorers are well known; a young man who is deaf and dumb having been among the most successful.

My friend Mr. Mayer, whose name is well known in connection with the promotion of archæological research, made occasional visits to the place, and, having succeeded in interesting some of the resident people in the subject, he was soon in the possession of a valuable collection. This embraces about a thousand articles of all kinds, the principal of which are classified and arranged on cards. I am bound to speak in the highest terms both of it and of its owner. During a delay of more than three years, he has permitted me to retain possession of all the objects attached to the cards; and in the accompanying plates, about forty-four per cent. of the figures represent selections from among them.

About July, in the year 1855, Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith came to reside in Liverpool. He had some practical experience as an archæologist, and, so early as 1852, he had published a very interesting quarto volume called "*Reliquiæ Insurianæ.*" Knowing what a storehouse of antiquarian objects had been discovered at Meols, near Hoylake, he visited the place frequently; and the result is a more minute acquaintance on his part with the locality, and a larger collection of objects than is possessed by any other person. His objects, as a whole, are less select than those of Mr. Mayer, but they are very varied, and possess great interest, from the fact that a large proportion of them were procured by himself *in situ.* Of the articles engraved, between a fourth and a fifth are from Mr. Smith's collection.

To these may be added one other discoverer, Mr. C. B. Robinson, who visited the adjacent watering-place of Hoylake during several summers, examined the surface, and occasionally dug into the black earth, in connection with which most of the objects were found. He was rewarded by the finding of several articles of great interest, though they were not very extensive in point of numbers.

It will thus be seen that six different collections of greater or less extent have been examined in the preparation of ma-

terials for the present volume. The period during which they have been procured extends over nearly half a century; and, even during the present year, hardly a week passes without some new object being brought to light. In general it presents no new feature, but is only an example or a variety of the types already known.

II.—THEIR CLASSIFICATION.

A large number of objects may be looked at from various points of view, and may be analysed and grouped according to several distinct principles of classification. For example, we may analyse these according to their *Ownership*, their *Material*, their *Use*, or their actual *Antiquity*. It may be interesting to examine them under each of these heads, and thus to reply by anticipation to numerous inquiries. This will form an appropriate introduction to the detailed account of the articles, class by class; and it will enable the reader to put each into its own position mentally, better than he could otherwise do.

1.—Ownership.

The following is not only an approximate enumeration of the whole number of objects examined—it shows further to whom they belong, and the periods at which they have been respectively acquired:—

COLLECTIONS.	NUMBER OF OBJECTS EMBRACED.	COLLECTED IN OR SINCE.
Mr. Ainslie's	100	1817
Mrs. Longueville's	12	1840
Dr. Hume's	800	1840
Mr. Mayer's	1000	1847
Mr. H. E. Smith's	1100	1856
Mr. Robinson's	50	1849
	3062	

Now, as three thousand objects of antiquity have been brought to light within the last twenty years, it is not unlikely

that at least as many more have been discovered and lost, for want of a proper estimate of their value, during the earlier periods of our history. Among the country people there are traditions of gold objects (especially coins) having been found; but articles of this kind would be most likely to change hands readily, and to have all traces of them speedily lost.

2.—Material.

It might be sufficient to give a tabular statement of the number of articles consisting of each separate material; but it will be more satisfactory and more instructive to show not only the degree of prevalence of the various metals, &c., but the peculiar sort of articles which was manufactured of each. The following is the result of a very careful classification. The plural form is adopted generally, though in a few cases there is only one article of the material mentioned:—

Gold.—Coins, Finger-rings.

Silver.—Brooches, Coins, Finger-rings, Spur (part of.)

Bronze, Brass, or some other Alloy of Copper.—Bells, Bosses, Bowl, Brooches of various kinds, Buckles of all kinds, Chapes of Scabbards, Chatellaine ornaments, Coins, Coffer-handles and Mounting, Collar (?), Crucifixes, Fibulæ, Finger-rings, Fish-hooks, Gypciere (part of), Hasps of various kinds, Hooks, Keys, Key-hole scutcheons, Nails, Needles, Needle-cases, Pendants (various), Pins (large and small), Tags of Straps, Thimbles, Tobacco-stopper, Tweezers.

Iron.—Anchor, Axe, Arrows, Bolts, Bell, Buckles, Buckle-brooches, Chains, Coffer-feet, Darts, Fish-hooks, Horse-harness, Keys (large and small), Knives, Musket-rest, Nails, Pendants (various), Skewers, Spoons, Scissors, Spurs (with single goad), Tags, and other objects, the uses of which are doubtful.

Lead.—Bolts, Beads, Bells, Bosses, Brooches, Buckles, Counters, Crucifixes, Ear-rings, Finger-rings, Hasps, Pendants, Pilgrim-signs, Spindle-whorls, Tags of Straps.

*Pewter.**—Spoons, Scent-box, Pilgrims'-signs, Coin, Seals, and various stamped fragments of unknown uses.

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* From corrosion, and other influences, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish objects in Pewter from those in Lead.

Wood.—Comb, Knife-handle, Axe-handle, Scoop.

Glass.—Beads, and fragment of a Ring.

Flint.—Arrow-head, Knife, Gun-flints (irregular chippings).

Stone.—Crucifix, Spindle-whorl, Celt, Gunstone, Whetstones, Sinkers, Cannon-ball.

Pottery and Terra-Cotta.—Beads, Fragments of Vessels, Spindle-whorls, Tobacco-pipes.

Amber.—Beads.

Jet.—A small ornament.

Bone and its kindred substances.—Bones, Horns, Teeth, &c., in the natural state, Knife-handle (bone), Mallet (deer's horn), Pin (bone), Pin (bird's beak), Dagger (tine of horn), Ring (bone), Spindle-whorl (bone).

Leather.—Portions of Shoes, remains of Straps in the metal, part of Bridle-rein (?).

Enamelled objects.—Roman Fibulæ, Finger-rings, Strap-hasp, Leather ornament, Small Fibulæ.

The following figures show the proportions of the various materials, in a set of nearly two thousand five hundred objects, which belong to the three principal collections :—

Silver	32
Brass, &c.	1714
Lead and Pewter	295
Iron	269
Terra-Cotta, &c.	14
Stone	13
Glass	18
Wood	5
Flint	44
Bone, &c.	24
	2428

It thus appears that articles, of which copper is the base, amount to seventy per cent. of the whole; that those of lead and pewter amount to twelve per cent.; those of iron, to eleven; of silver, to one and a third; and that articles of all other kinds of material reach only five per cent., or a twentieth of the whole.

The following is an analysis of three hundred and forty-

four coins, showing not only their material but their historic position—

MATERIAL.		CHARACTER.	
Gold Coins	2	British	3
Do., melted and broken up	31	Roman	57
Silver, some halved or quartered	204	Saxon	12
		English and Irish	249
Brass or Copper	106	Miscellaneous	23
Pewter	1		
	344		344

3.—Use.

It is plain that the various kinds of metallic objects are not, and never were, equally in use; so that some kinds occur with comparative frequency, and others very rarely. The following table serves to show, in some degree, what classes of personal necessaries were more prevalent than others; but it illustrates an additional fact at the same time. For example, it may be assumed that only one fibula was employed in the dress of the Roman gentleman, while five or six buckles were necessary in the equipment of a mediæval soldier, not to speak of the harness of his horse. Add to this the more modern use of buckles down to our own times, and one would be prepared to find a hundred of them for one Roman fibula. Yet no such proportion exists, as the fibulæ are many-fold more numerous than this; and it is further surprising that the more elegant and artistic article exceeds in proportion the plainer and more homely one. It is an argument, along with others, that Roman influence was stronger on the spot than we supposed; that whether these articles dropped from the living, or were interred with the dead, the persons whom they decorated must have been numerous and important.

In grouping the objects for the plates, they were classified according to their real or apparent uses; and, in order to give an idea of the comparative numbers, it may be sufficient to follow the order of the plates. Omitting the last five or six,

which refer more to individual things than to classes, the articles of kindred character with those engraved will be apparent from the following :—

		Like objects engraved on	
Plate III.	Roman Fibulæ, common type	34	
„ IV.	Ditto ditto, later, and of rarer forms	8 —	42
„ V.	Circular Brooches	28	
	Pin ditto	9 —	37
„ VI.	Buckle ditto	56	
	Fermails	27 —	83
„ VII.	Buckles with Attachments	101	
	Attachments only, or fragments	37 —	138
„ VIII.	Buckles, complete	151	
	Ditto, fragments	97 —	248
„ IX.	Double Buckles	16	
	Hasps with Lids	9	
	Hasps generally	66	
	Hooks	7 —	98
„ X.	Hasps with two loops (see fig. 1,)	14	
	Ditto with hole for swivel (figs. 7, 11,)	28	
	Ditto with point for insertion (figs. 12, 14,)	54	
	Ditto with two inner points (figs. 18, 19,)	19 —	115
„ XI.	Tags or Strap-ends	—	121
„ XII.	Strap Ornaments, general	35	
	Ditto ditto, small (figs. 2, 3, 4,)	155	
	Ditto ditto, shell-like (figs. 14, 15,)	17	
	Ditto ditto, broad in middle (figs. 9, 12, 13,)	19	
	Ditto ditto, with animals (figs. 21, 22,)	4 —	230
„ XIII.	Bosses and Studs	124	
	Small Ornaments (shield-shaped)	8 —	132
„ XIV.	Spindle-whorls	—	44
„ XV.	Beads, proper	41	
	Other Pendants	5 —	46
„ XVI.	Goad Spurs	9	
	Fragments of other Spurs	4 —	13
„ XVII.	Iron Knives	—	31
„ XVIII.	Large iron Keys	—	12
„ XIX.	Small brass Keys	18	
	Keyhole Ornaments	8 —	26

Like objects engraved on			
Plate XX.	Coffer Handles	47	
	Ditto Feet	3	
	Ditto pieces of Mounting	9 —	59
„ XXI.	Arrows and allied Implements	20	
	Ditto ditto, stone or flint	5 —	25
„ XXII.	Needles	21	
	Needle-cases	5	
	Thimbles	2	
	Hair-pins (metal)	11 —	39
„ XXIII.	Pins	29	
	Tweezers	6	
	Nails, small	8	
	Ditto, large	25 —	68
„ XXIV.	Rings in general	43	
	Finger rings	16	
	Small rings (about ½-in. in external diameter)	45 —	104
„ XXV.	Ear-rings, various	—	57
„ XXVI.	Shears	1	
	Fish-hooks	62	
	Bells, or portions	7	
	Spoons	8	
	Crosses	14	
	Ear-picks	3	
	Metal of Gypciere	2 —	97
			1905*

This analysis embraces, as will be seen, nearly 2000 of the principal objects in the three leading collections; and it may serve to show the comparative prevalence of the various kinds of articles. For example, the simple Buckles are most numerous, and the Strap ornaments next. If we add to the former the double Buckles, and the Buckles with Attachments in whole or in part, the Buckles and Strap ornaments amount to more than a third of the whole. If we had enumerated the various articles, of which specimens are engraved, on all the

* The analysis which is given hereafter, under the detailed account of each separate article, has reference to these three large collections only.

plates, instead of confining ourselves to twenty-four, the proportion would have been a little, but very little, smaller.

Next in the order of number are Bosses and Studs, Tags or Strap-ends, Hasps of various kinds, and Rings. If we add together from the various plates the several sets of these, we find that they amount to just another third of the whole. So that, of the objects which are represented on twenty-four of the principal plates (III.—XXVI.), two-thirds of the whole are denoted by the figures on nine* plates, and the remaining one-third by the figures on fifteen† others.

The Fibulæ, Brooches, Fermails, and other more elegant fastenings for the dress, given on plates III., IV., V., VI., mount up to one hundred and forty-two, so many as nine or ten of them being of silver. So that, while objects of this kind generally denoted persons of quality, a very large proportion of them were indicative of riches and good taste.

4.—Antiquity.

On this part of the subject, there is unusual difficulty in expressing an opinion. A common mode of learning the dates of antiquarian objects is by finding them in connection with others, the exact age of which is well known; and in this way objects, long supposed to be Saxon or Norman for example, have been identified as possibly or actually Roman. In like manner, objects popularly supposed to be modern, and in some instances really so, have been shown to possess identity of form with others unquestionably British or Saxon.

In the present inquiry, no such clue exists to guide us to the ages of any of the objects. It is not a "find" of British, or Saxon, or Roman, or Danish, or any other class of antiquities, but of numerous kinds intermingled; so that, besides the general resemblance of form which prevailed throughout various periods of history, we are bewildered by the acknowledged

* VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., XXIV., XXV.

† III., IV., V., VI., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXI., XXII., XXIII., XXVI.

promiscuous character of the collection. Still it is possible to make a rough grouping, which shall serve the purpose of an approximate classification on the ground of dates; but it should be borne in mind, that some small objects among the conveniences of civilization have prevailed through many centuries, and were common to several national communities.

In the following arrangement, the historic periods, as determined by races, are taken as the basis; and, of the objects enumerated, each is mentioned in connection with one or more periods representing the time during which it is supposed to have prevailed. Certain animals, which were supposed to belong to some of the pre-historic periods, have been brought down to the Roman era, by the discovery that they were actually slaughtered at that time for food; and, again, such objects as keys, buckles, brooches, &c., prevail through successive periods. The goad-spur is found in two divisions; for it was in use among the Saxons before the battle of Hastings, and it was commonly used afterwards by the victorious Normans. Fibulæ, of the kind noticed here, begin and end with the Roman period; and the specimens of rude pottery which occur, have probably their major and minor limits in the Norman period, and that which immediately followed. Some classes of objects are not noticed in this statement, from the fact that little is known even of their approximate dates; and others are omitted because they are common to all or nearly all the periods.

In the *Pre-historic and British period*, which preceded Christianity and the advent of the Romans, the *Bos primigenius* trod the land where its bones are still found, and the *Megacerus Hibernicus*, whose remains are also brought to light, may have been either a contemporary, or perhaps a predecessor or successor. The bones of commoner animals—*e. g.*, of the red deer and roebuck, of the wild boar and wolf, of the horse, the dog, and of man—probably belonged to some of the later periods; but no attempt is made to assign any particular date to them. We may assume that during this period the flint arrows and knives were in use, and the

flakes and sling stones of the same material, of which some examples have been found.

The *British and Roman period* was of four centuries' duration; namely, from the middle of the first to the middle of the fifth century. The earliest of our coins belong to this period, and the fibulæ, both plain and enamelled. The circular ones (Plate IV. figs. 5-8) are of the later Roman era. Within this period buckles, ear-picks, ear-rings, finger-rings, keys (small, brass or bronze), and horse-harness, were in use; but whether any of our objects in these classes respectively were contemporaneous with the fibulæ and coins, is far from certain. The *Bos longifrons*, in the manner just noticed, has been brought within this period. From the position in which a skull was found near Birkenhead, in 1858, it was rendered highly probable that it had been the contemporary of the Romans; and the circumstances attending the discovery of one at Wroxeter place the matter beyond question. It was indented as if by a violent blow, and a large iron *malleus* found near the place, fitted to the fracture.

The period of joint *British and Saxon* occupation was from the middle of the fifth till the early part of the ninth century, or nearly four hundred years. During this period the objects enumerated in the preceding paragraph had become of much more frequent use; and there can be little doubt that several articles there enumerated belong properly to this period. To these we may add brooches and nails; but it is a little curious that this long period does not furnish us with a single coin, unless perhaps the British ones, which are undated. It is more probable, however, that they belonged to the Britons of the Roman period.

During the *Danish and Saxon* period, the former possessed the eastern side of the island, and occupied numerous spots round the coast, while the latter still constituted the mass of the population. The period included under the name, was from the beginning of the ninth century till the middle of the eleventh. Throughout it all the common objects which have been enumerated were in use; and it is highly probable that some of ours are examples belonging to this period. Towards its close we see the goad or prick-spur in use; also hasps, leather ornaments, and strap-tags were not uncommon.

The *Saxon and Norman* period practically embraced a century and a half, or from 1060 to 1200. In it the goad-spur was common, so that we know its major and minor limits in

point of time. Pottery, of the kind found here, was in existence, with large iron keys, pins, needles, needle-cases, personal seals, and bosses and studs. Of course the articles already enumerated continued to exist, most of them in greater number and variety; so that, while some of ours may *possibly* illustrate the earlier periods of their use, the *probability* is stronger that many of them belonged to this period, or the last century of the preceding one.

The *Earlier English* period represents the time when the various ethnological elements had become fused into one nearly homogeneous mass. It extended say from 1200 to 1400, and in thus employing the term with its definition, I do not interfere with the nomenclature of others. The goad-spurs have passed away, and leather ornaments have undergone modification; but buckles, coins, rings, fish-hooks, harness, keys, nails, &c., still remain. It is not unlikely, however, that some of the last of our brooches and fermails, bosses and studs, ear-picks, ear-rings, needles, needle-cases, and pottery, belong to this period. Either here, or a little lower down, we should place thimbles, which are obviously more modern than the needles and needle-cases to which they are allied.

The *More-recent English* period, from 1400 to 1700, brings into view several new objects, such as the axe, the musket-rest, stone cannon-ball, gun-flints, portions of brass guns, a wooden pail, and some of the more modern nails and fish-hooks. It is possible that there are a few things more recent still, or coming down into the eighteenth century; but those who are familiar with such collections will see that such are few indeed.

In *size* the objects range literally "from a needle to an anchor;" but, in general, they are small. This is evident from the fact, that of nearly four hundred and fifty objects engraved hardly one in twenty required to be represented on a reduced scale.

As *indications of art*, we find almost every stage of development, from the most primitive attempt to diminish human labour or increase convenience, to a very high triumph of human skill. For example, we have implements of bone or of stag's horn; a gigantic comb from a thin board of native oak; a needle-case formed by squeezing the metal into a

cylinder, like a piece of pasteboard, to be stopped by a plug of wood; a key formed to all appearance by compressing the sheet metal in the fingers, and then punching a hole at the top and riveting for the web or wards at the bottom; with many objects in lead, which was more easily procurable than other metals, from Flintshire, across the Dee. We have, on the other hand, fibulæ of elegant workmanship, buckles which were better suited to the circumstances than any which we now possess; tags and pendants beautifully ornamented; modes of fastening which are now either almost or altogether unknown to us; and, in many instances, a beauty of construction and delicacy of parts at the very existence of which we wonder, and especially at its existence in the circumstances.

In fine, here is a collection of which more than three thousand objects exist, such as contributed to almost every convenience and purpose of human life, and yet it embraces articles whose ages differ at least seventeen hundred years. It is surely deserving of a careful examination and description; and, even if one should fail to give perfectly correct impressions of it, the attempt is justifiable, and some degree of failure may be excused.

SECTION II.—DETAILED.

I.—FIBULÆ.—Plates III. and IV.

1.—*Introduction.* The following definition of the term Fibula is given by Mr. James Yates, in one of his excellent antiquarian articles in *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*:—

"A brooch, consisting of a pin (*acus*), and of a curved portion furnished with a hook. The curved portion was sometimes a circular ring or disc, the pin passing across its centre, and sometimes an arc, the pin being as the chord of the arc."

The term, therefore, denoted a genus,* of which there were many species; including afterwards buckles also, whether ring-shaped or of any other form. Though our English language provides us with many terms instead of this one, these are sometimes employed loosely and carelessly; and indeed it is practically impossible, as we shall see, to say where one class ends and another begins.

In the present article, the name Fibula is applied to those fastenings only which were in the form of an arc standing out perpendicular to the plane of the body, and which were employed for use rather than for ornament. Fastenings which possess these general characters are very frequently found among Roman remains, though other forms occur occasionally; and objects similar in structure were not unknown among other peoples, though they were rare. But since, among the Roman people, the arched brooch occurred most frequently, and since its use was in a great degree exceptional elsewhere, we have given the term here a more limited signification than it usually possesses.

2. *Various Forms.*—The arched fibula is related to the curious curved object, with cusped or mamillary ends, of which numerous specimens in gold are familiar to Irish archæologists. The two ends passed inwards, like a double button which unites the sides of a gentleman's coat, and the curve which held these ends together stood out across the body. Intermediate between this and the fibula proper is one whose two ends are of uniform size and appearance, but with a pin behind. One of the most interesting examples is the elegant bronze instrument from Ardnakillan crannogue, in the county of Roscommon, figured by Dr. Wilde.† The late Mr. J. M. Kemble thought it very ancient, and the finest

* Virgil represents the Fibula as used (A) to connect the robe; (B) as a fastening for the Balteus or shoulder-belt; and (C) as a hair-pin.

(A) Aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.—Æn. iv. 139.

(B) Lato quam circum amplectitur auro Balteus, et tereti subnectit fibula gemma.—Ib. v. 313. "*Fibula*, clavículus extroma baltei connectens."—Note on xii. 274.

(C) Fibula crinem auro internectat.—Ib. vii. 815.

† Catalogue of the objects possessed by the Royal Irish Academy, p. 569.

FOR DR HUMES HOYLAKE ART

ROMAN FIBULÆ

bronze article in the collection. Three similar fibulæ, probably of Romano-Frankish construction, were procured at Macon, in France, and are figured in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol. X., Pl. vi. The upper and lower ends are identical in form; but to the one the pin is attached, and to the other the hook for holding it. In Plate xx., which serves as a frontispiece to Boutell's little work,* fig. 3 represents a Roman enamelled fibula with a sort of equilateral triangle at each end, ornamented with sixteen small equilateral triangles, of which seven are white, six black, and three yellow.

The harp-shaped or bow-shaped fibulæ, to which our remarks in the first place refer, may be seen on Plate III., figs. 1, 7, and 9; also Plate IV., figs. 1—4. Though so simple in form, it admits of a good deal of variety in structure and ornamentation. A glance at Mr. Akerman's *Archæological Index* shews us four of the Roman-British period, from Devizes in North Wilts. Three of them have a cross bar on the top like our fig. 2 on Plate III., and the fourth has a loop at the top with a coiled spring, unlike any in this collection. It is known as "the rat-trap spring," and appears in three of the woodcuts given hereafter. Two singular bronze fibulæ were found at Kirkby Thore in Westmoreland, one of which has four circular ridges on its bow or stem, somewhat like those of fig. 3, Plate IV., but it has a square loop at the top and the coiled spring.† A similar one exists in the collection of Lady Londesborough.‡ In the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, Vol. II., p. 75, there is one figured which is copied in the *Archæological Index*. The bow of it bears a rude resemblance to a man standing with arms akimbo; and the pin, attached as if to the back of the head, falls into a loop behind the leg. A beautiful bronze fibula from Lanarkshire is harp-shaped, the pin forming the string.§ A very interesting one in my own possession from Whittlesea Mere, of bronze silvered, is

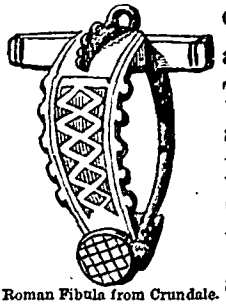
* Manual of British Archæology, 1858.

† Archæologia, XXXI., p. 279.

‡ Catalogue, p. 39.

§ Journal of the Archæological Association, VIII., p. 74.

two and a quarter inches high, and has a tubular cross-bar at the top, to which the pin is attached, two inches long. It is somewhat similar in shape to one given by Mr. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, I. 52. Another, rudely shaped, of brass, also in my possession, has a head and loop, something like that of fig. 3, Plate III. On the centre of the back is a square containing a circle of red enamel, and it has a penannular termination at the bottom. The spring of it is coiled. It was found at a supposed Roman station at Walton-le Dale, near Preston. In an ossuary* at Crundale, in Kent, a very beautiful one of brass was found, with numerous other articles, most of them evidently Roman. It is described in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*,† and a figure of it is given here.

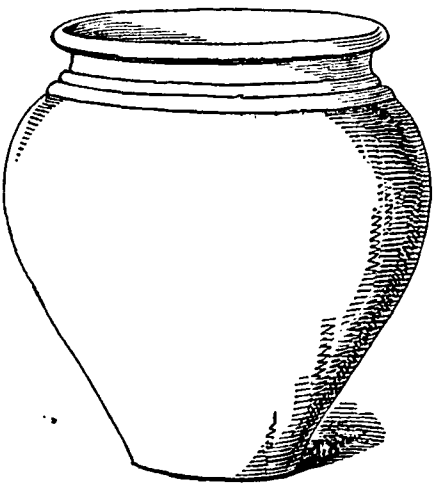


Roman Fibula from Crundale.

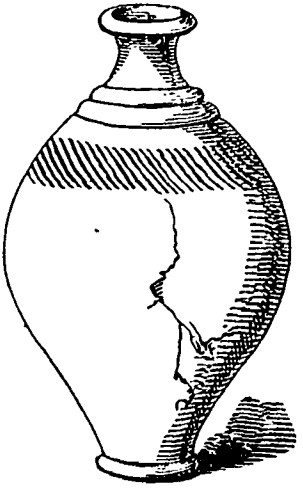
Sometimes the stem or back part consisted of a mere double

* Inv. Sep., 186.

† This was of coarse black earth, and capable of containing about six quarts. It is nine inches high, and ten in diameter. It contained, along with the fibula, burnt bones, coals, and ashes. The other vessel, which is of coarse reddish earth, was found along with it. Both are shown here—



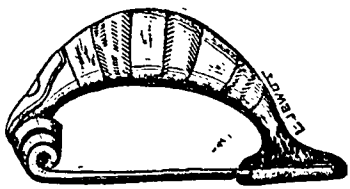
Ossuary.



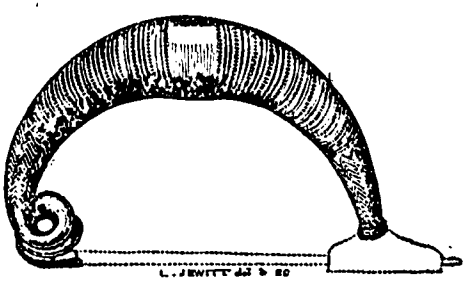
Companion Bottle.

outline of wire, like the skeleton shawl-pins which one sees occasionally. One of this kind was found at La Tene, on the Lake of Neuchatel, and is figured by M. Troyon in his *Habitations Lacustres.** Two others are figured by Douglas, as found at Barham Downs, near Canterbury.† Another, still more simple in its structure, was found in one of the barrows of East Yorkshire. It is apparently a single piece of stout wire, the bow and pin being continuous, with a coiled spring; and a small loop at the bottom of the stem serves to receive its point.‡

Sometimes the object assumed the shape of an animal, as in one from the Fairford graves; the stem or curved portion of which is in the shape of a bird. This is Angle-Saxon.§ But a Roman one, much more elegant, was discovered at York, and is figured in *Wellbeloved's Eburacum*, Plate XVII., fig. 3. Other animals also were imitated, as the dolphin, which is represented in a spring brooch, the pin locking into the tail. The spring is a separate piece, and has been riveted to the head. It is here figured from the Royal Irish Academy's collection. A somewhat similar one from the Roman station of Little Chester, near Derby, appears to have the body of a leech. Another, in the Royal Irish Academy's collection, assumes the form of a snake with inflated body; it is of one continuous piece, and the pin having a coiled spring, answers to the tail of a serpent, and locks into a projection in the neck.



Dolphin Pattern.



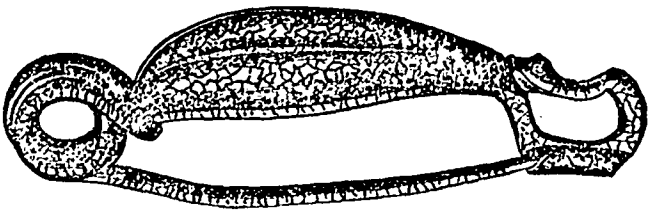
Roman, from Little Chester.

* Plate xv., fig. 9.

† Nenia Britannica, Plate x., figs. 2 and 3.

‡ Wright's Essays, I., 24.

§ Archæologia, XXXIV., 79.



Serpent Pattern.

In some of them a peculiar style of ornamentation prevailed. Four ancient fibulæ, all of this type, are figured by M. Troyon as of the earlier iron age; Plate xvii. figs. 13—16. One of them has a little bird standing on the outer part of the stem or bow, and looking towards the point of the pin. They were all discovered in the tombs of the Canton de Vaud. He mentions another which has been presented to him from Cremona, on which there are three birds. And a Gallo-Roman bronze fibula, in the Londesborough collection, has four little cocks or ducks standing prominently on the bow, and all looking towards the point of the pin. But more curious ones still exist. Among the antiquities found in Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburg, were bronze fibulæ, consisting of a flat strip of bronze about half an inch wide, with a coiled spring at one end, and a hook for the *acus* at the other. The whole margin of the bow was decorated with little birds riveted on. One of these fibulæ has at its middle a figure, with the body of a bird and the head of an ox.*

Some of the Angle-Saxon forms so closely resemble the Roman ones, that it would be dangerous to pronounce upon them, apart from the connection in which they are discovered. Thus, four were found at Harnham hill, near Salisbury, one with a projecting cross-bar, like ours, Plate III. fig. 2; one with the top and bottom parts nearly alike; and one with a broad rectangular piece near its hinge.† Again, at Filkins, in Oxfordshire, along with numerous circular and dish-shaped ones (noticed here under the title *Brooches*), were found two,

* Archæologia, XXXVI., 361. † Ibid., XXXV., 278.

both very like ours. The bow of one is like fig. 3, Plate IV., in ours, but it has a coiled spring.

Examples of the circular fibulæ that are unquestionably Roman are such as the following. One was found near Devizes, coarsely enamelled; and is figured in the *Archæological Index*, Plate xii., fig. 17. Two interesting examples are given in *Wellbeloved's Eburacum*, Plate xvii., figs. 4, 7. They are of copper, and one is beautifully ornamented. Mr. Lee has engraved several examples of circular Roman fibulæ similar to those we have called here "Buckle Brooches," but it has been doubted respecting one whether it was Roman.* A large convex Angle-Saxon fibula, now in the Museum of the Chester Mechanics' Institution, was found in a field near the city in 1840. It is of bronze, counter-sunk in sections, which are inlaid with red, white, and green paste; the pin is gone, but the joint and part of the fastening remain.†

Two of a very peculiar form are given on Plate III., figs. 8 and 10; they resemble the letter *S*, and one of them contains the pin appended to it. One of similar construction was exhibited at York in 1856, and is figured in the separate volume of the Archæological Institute for that year, p. 35. A similar one is given by Mr. Smith in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. I., Plate xxvii. In 1844, another one of bronze was found at Malton in Yorkshire, on a Roman road. It is described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Vol. I., p. 295. These are all supposed to be of the later Roman period.

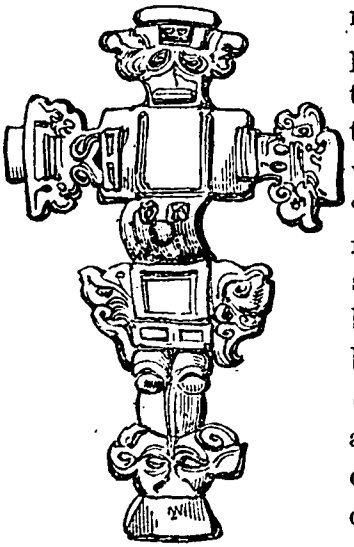
The penannular fibulæ given on Plate IV., figs. 5—8, are very rude examples of a kind well known. They are supposed to be of the later Roman period; but objects of this kind are found not merely with Roman remains, but also among Saxon ones. Some of the more elegant forms are alluded to under

* Isca Silurum; or, an Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities at Carleon, 1862.

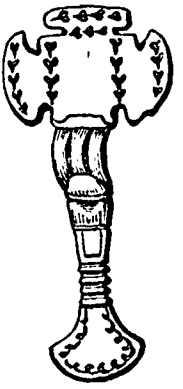
† Historic Society's Transactions, I., 28.

the head "Brooches;" and in Ireland especially they are numerous and varied, both of silver and gold. An interesting example was obtained among some Roman remains in Yorkshire;* others were found at Fairford among Saxon remains;† and numerous others are alluded to in the ordinary works on Archæology.‡

Though we use the common term Anglo-Saxon, it really includes several distinct sets of people. The implements and ornaments which these used, though resembling were not identical; and their distinctive characteristics can be traced through the various parts of England. Mr. Roach Smith has drawn particular attention to this circumstance.§ In the ancient kingdom of East Anglia, in Leicestershire, and further north, the form of a fibula proper is still preserved; but among the early settlers of Kent, and towards Wessex, the circular form which we call "Brooch" is much more general. In some parts, as will be noticed, the brooch is of frequent occurrence, and splendidly decorated; in other parts it occurs more rarely, and instead of being convex is slightly concave. The following three forms are from Suffolk and Cam-



Large example, from Suffolk.



Small example, from Suffolk.

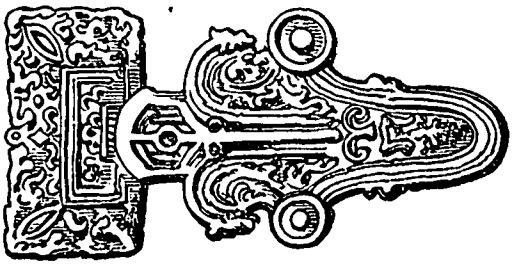
* Wright's Archæological Essays, I. p. 25.

† Wylie's Fairford Graves, Plate v. fig. 5, and Plate vi. fig. 3.

‡ Wilde's Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy; the Ulster Journal of Archæology; the Gloucester Volume of the British Archæological Association; Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art at South Kensington, &c., &c.

§ Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. xiii.

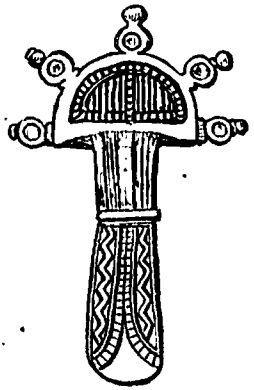
bridge; but the examples from Norfolk are of a somewhat similar kind. The first from Suffolk is large and cruciform, with a sort of rude human heads at its opposite extremities. It is six inches long, and nearly four and a half broad. The second is smaller, being about four inches long; the upper part being decorated by rows of heart-shaped objects, and the lower by an involved line. The wings or cruciform part are only half the extent of the perpendicular length; and it thus bears some resemblance to the body and small wings of a



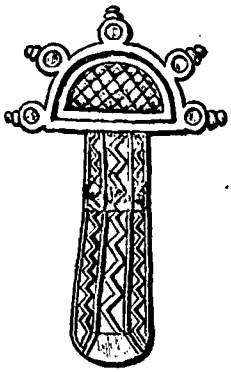
From Cambridgeshire.

moth. The third is from Cambridgeshire; and, instead of cross-bars, it presents us with a rectangular plate at the top, and greater width and decoration along the stem or bow. This is five and a quarter inches long, and the plate at top and projections below are about half that extent laterally.

Among the fibulæ discovered by Douglas in Kent, those with semicircular heads cannot fail to have arrested the attention of readers of the *Nenia*. Of this kind a variety occurs very commonly on the continent, and occasionally in our own country. From the circumference of the semicircle five knobs like fingers project, with an interval of



From Osengell, in Thanet.



From Selzen, in Germany.

half a right angle between each pair. It is the prevailing form of fibula in the Frankish graves, and is known as the "hasp with offsets." It has been found by the brothers Lindenschmidt near Mayence, at Osengell and other parts of Kent, at Selzen in Germany, at Lyons in France, by the Abbé Cochet in Normandy, and in several other places.

3. *Materials and Decoration.*—The materials of which articles of this kind have been constructed are gold, silver, brass or bronze, iron, and sometimes mixed metal. Flat circular brooches, as we shall see, were often constructed of lead or pewter, but none of this form that I am aware of. A splendid gold fibula was found at Odiham in Hants, cruciform, and with massive balls at top and sides. It is now in the British Museum.* A magnificent one, also of gold, from Scotland, was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries on the 30th of May, 1850; but the gentleman who laid it before the Society declined, for special reasons, to state all the particulars concerning it. It has three gold balls like that just mentioned, one of which unscrews for the purpose of fastening the *acus* or pin. It is splendidly decorated, and other examples of the same shape were mentioned on the occasion.† The Rev. Thomas Hugo exhibited one of bronze, of the later Roman period, found in Ratcliff Highway, similar in form to that of Odiham, but still more resembling the beautiful one from Scotland.‡ Fibulæ of this form are rarely found in silver. One of the later Roman period was discovered near Bath in 1856,§ but the form of it is not explained. In the Londesborough collection there is one of silver gilt and nielloed, and with an iron pin. It is of the kind denominated "hasp with off-sets." In the same collection there were several of mixed metal. Of bronze or brass they were very common, and in numerous instances, whether of this material or of the precious metals, the pin was iron. Fibulæ wholly iron occur, as we

* Archæological Journal, vol. II. p. 46.

† Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, II. pp. 84, 86.

‡ Ibid. III. 15.

§ Ibid. III. 262.

have seen, among those in the lacustrine habitations of Switzerland.

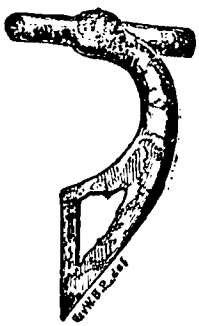
In decoration they were very varied, and sometimes remarkably splendid. They were plated, gilt, nielloed, enamelled, chased, ornamented with filigree and with precious stones, and in some instances small ornamental objects were riveted on or suspended.

4. *Cheshire Fibulæ.* The fibulæ which have been found on the Cheshire coast amount to forty-eight in all. Of the commoner form there are forty, and of the rarer forms, like figs. 8 and 10, Plate III., or 5, 6, 7, and 8, Plate IV., there are eight. With the exception of one of the latter class they are all of bronze; the exceptional one is silver. Of the whole number Mr. Smith possesses thirty-two; Mr. Mayer, Mr. Ainslie, and myself, five each; and Mrs. Longueville one.

Those engraved upon Plate III. are of course all of brass, and present considerable variety of form. Five of these are from Mr. Ainslie's collection, viz., figs. 1, 2, 3, 7, and 9; four from Mr. Smith's, 4, 5, 6, and 10; and fig. 8 from Mr. Mayer's. Figs. 2 and 7 are the only ones that show the cross-bar or hammer-head, and the former exhibits traces of minute and beautiful workmanship. Six of them have loops, apparently for a cord to be passed through to attach them to the person, so that it would be difficult for the wearer to lose one of them. On showing to a dealer a beautiful bow-shaped one in my own possession, with a suggestion that such a precaution would not be useless in modern times, he turned up the back of a brooch, and showed me a ring inserted for the same purpose. In two instances, viz. figs. 3 and 9, the loop for sustaining seems to answer the further purpose of serving as the hinge for the *acus*. This arrangement is very visible in the harp-shaped fibula, fig. 9. Traces of blue enamel are very apparent in three of those of Mr. Ainslie, figs. 1, 2, and 7, and in one of those of Mr. Smith, fig. 4; while the remains of a yellow setting are visible in fig. 3.

Fig. 5 exhibits a chequered pattern in scarlet and green, and fig. 6 a mixture of red and white.

Plate IV. may be regarded as a continuation of Plate III., and the objects have been considered together. They are all bronze; and with the exception of fig. 1, which belongs to Mrs. Longueville, and fig. 5, which is Mr. Mayer's, all are from Mr. Smith's collection. Fig. 1 is interesting, as having been the first object noticed in 1846, and which drew attention to the fact that antiquarian objects were procured in the neighbourhood. Figs. 2 and 4 exhibit the cross-bar or hammer-head; and the taller is peculiarly decorated along the back of the bow or stem. Fig. 8 is different from the others, and should not perhaps have been placed here. It is a sort of double buckle brooch, the pin of which has become agglutinated to the cross-bar, and is broken.



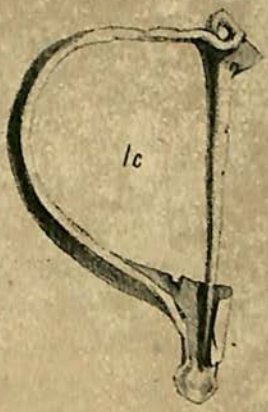
Fibula from the Roman Villa at Walesby, near Market Rasen, Lincoln.

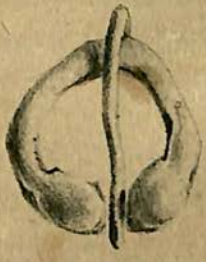
II.—BROOCHES.—PLATE V.

1.—PIN BROOCHES.

1.—*Introduction.* The original meaning of the term brooch, both in French and English, is a spit;* and therefore it ap-

* Broche or spete (without mete), *veru;* Broche or spete (whan mete is vpon it), *verutum.*—*Promptorium Parvulorum.* A broch, a spitte, a long strike in writing like a spitte, made for a note.—*Fleming's Dict.*, 1583. Broche, a broach or spitte, also a great stitch.—*Cotgrave*, 1611. A spitte to roast meat on; a start on a young stag's head, growing like the





FIBULÆ

plied in the first instance to the pin. Subsequently it was applied more to the circle to which the pin was attached. To the Norman brooch the name was peculiarly applicable, as it consisted mainly of a decorated ring and a long pin. A beautiful one, fastening the inner garment of Queen Berengaria, is engraved in Fairholt's *Costumes in England.** There are also two gold breast-pins in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy—one with a double torque-pattern ring, and the other with a plain unclosed rim—both of which illustrate this remark. †

Hence the expression, "to broach or to tap" as if a cask; that is, to pierce it, or "spit" it literally. Thus, two writers of the sixteenth century use the following language—

> "Villain, thou know'st the law of arms is such,
> That whoso draws a sword 'tis present death;
> Or else this blow should broach thy dearest blood." ‡

> "Then to Dalkeith they made them boun,
> Reid-wod of this reproche;
> There was baith wyne and venisoun,
> And barrells ran on broche." §

A lady threatening to let loose her tongue, uses the term figuratively, thus:—

---

end of a spit.—*Bailey's Dict.* This meaning is illustrated in the following quotation from an ancient tract entitled, "Will Bucke, His Testament," by Copland—"For to make Nombleis stued.—Take the numbleis, clene wasshed and dight, and cut them to the length of the brede of halfe a thombe, and then put them on a *broche*, and roste them til they be inoughe." Among the "Kychen Stuffe" of Katharine of Arragon, the following is enumerated, "A rounde broche, withe a paire of rackis, a fyre panne, a fyre forke, a paire of smalle aund eyerons, a brasse potte, a brasse panne, a gredeyeron, a paire of tongis."—*Camden Misc.*, iii. 41. King Edward II. was killed by "a broche of brennynge fyre putte throughe an horne," or "a spit of copper brennynge."—*Glossary to Hearne's Rob. of Gloucester.* In the Expenses of the Wardrobe of King Edward III., there is mentioned as part of the kitchen furniture, "iiij broches ferri."—*Archæologia*, XXXVIII. 81.

* Page 99.

† Wilde's Catal. of Gold Antiqs. p. 41.

‡ Shakspeare, 1 Hen. VI., iii. 4.

§ Alexander Scott — Justing of Adamson and Syme.

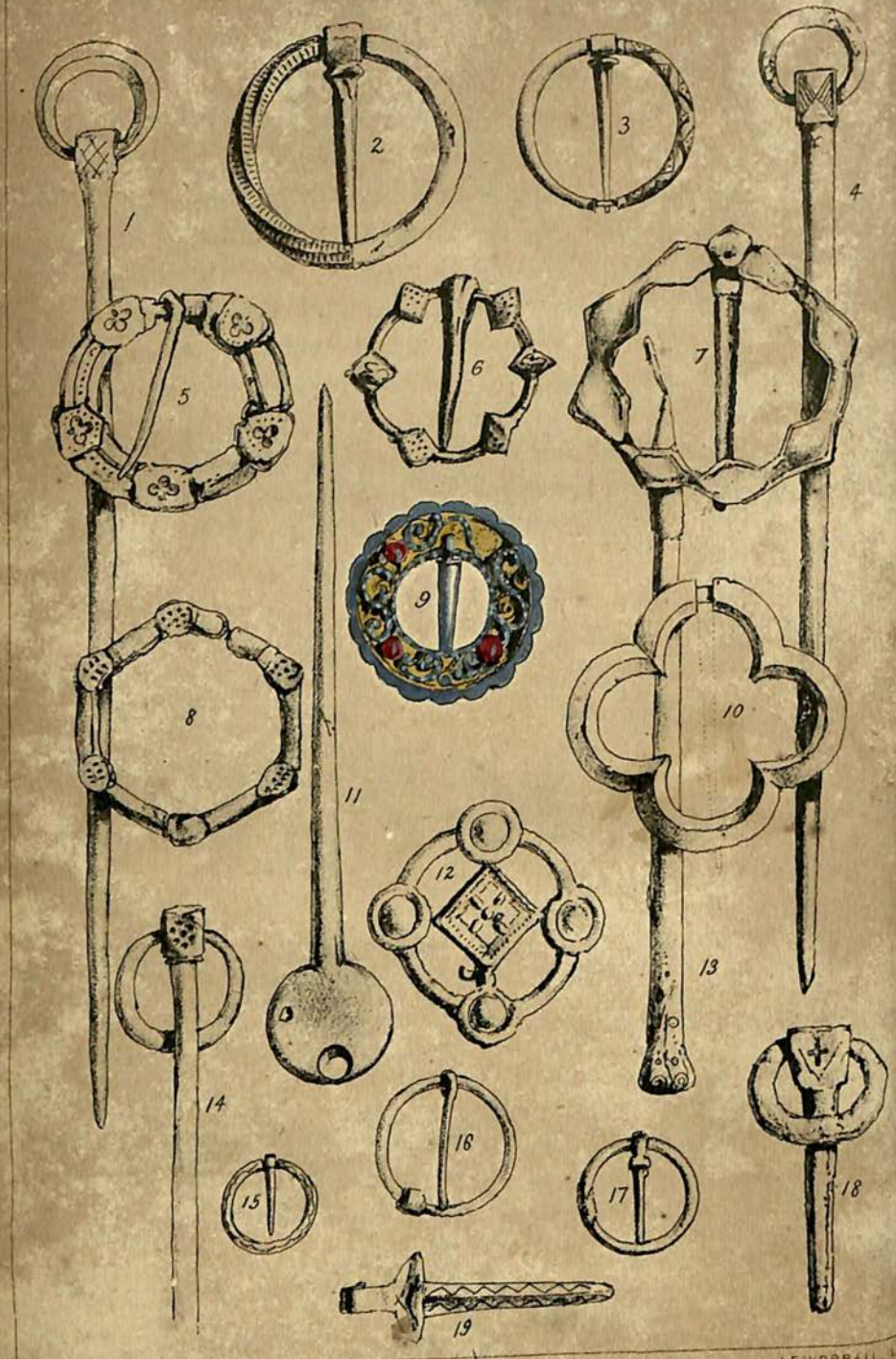
"Then maiest thou chesen wheder thou wolt sippe,
Of thilke tonne that I shal abroche."*

Except that a different term is employed, such as pin or skewer, the brooch in its original sense is an object of all time. It is said that the primitive mode of fastening garments was by the spur of a thorn;† and, among the class of people called "tramps," some very inartificial modes of fastening might be observed. A Celtic peasant having lost a button which can ill be spared, fastens the two portions of his clothing by means of a large nail; and, though this primitive brooch may be occasionally strained or bent, it endures at least as long as the fabric which it unites. Dr. Wilde, in his catalogue of the objects in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, calls skewers of this kind "Breast-pins;" and, as they generally united the mantle on the bosom, the name is much more accurate than that of hair-pins, frequently given to them. I have called them "Pin-brooches," where there is the pin and little or nothing else.

2.—*Kinds.* It is extremely difficult, indeed impossible, to distinguish between brooches or breast-pins on the one hand, and hair-pins on the other. In the great majority of cases they were of the same size and form; and it is not unlikely that the same instrument which fastened the robe of either sex at one time, served to decorate a lady's hair at another. Among the humbler classes of society, or in any class where there is a limitation of conveniences, we constantly find the same implement applied to various uses; and thus, instead of having defined duties to perform, it is a servant of all work. In Dr. Wilde's catalogue, objects like figs. 1, 4, 14, 18, on our Plate are called "Ring-pins," and a number of very interesting

* Chaucer, Wif of Bathe's Tale.[1]

† In Neckam's treatise *De Utensilibus*, he says of a dealer, "Monile habeat, Spinter, (*quasi spina tenax,*) quo tunice fuscotincti vel camisie colaria conjungat."—*Mayer's Vocab.*, 101. Omnibus sagum fibulâ, aut, si desit, spina consertum.—*Tacitus.* In the Irish language, the same word (*dealg*) is used to denote a thorn, and a skewer, pin, or bodkin.—*Dr. Wilde's Catal.*, 332, *n.*



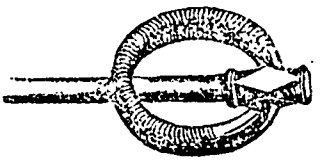
FOR DR HUME'S HOYLAKE ANT.
J.E.WORRALL, LITH.

CIRCULAR AND PIN BROOCHES.

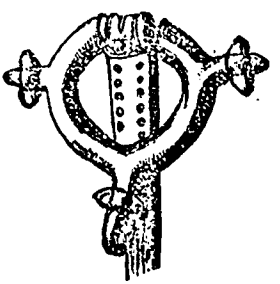
examples are given. In one instance, a pin three inches long has three ringles at different elevations, and of different sizes, passing through its top; and in two others the ring is simply a piece of wire passed through the hole and bent by the fingers.* It is supposed, from the peculiar shape of the heads, that both of these latter may have been used as styli. The following examples from that collection † may serve in some degree to illustrate our own. They show apparently four stages of progress in the rings or loops; but the pins are also of various lengths, sizes, and styles of ornamentation. For example, in the first there is a plain ring, thick at the middle and diminishing towards the part where it passes through the opening. In the second, the outer part of the ring is a distinct thing, scarcely clearing the head of the pin, and it revolves on an axis or swivel like a strong wire. There are numerous specimens of this class. In the third, the ring is double, but the two separate portions are united where it is unornamented, and passes through the pin. The fourth is ornamented with cruciform or trifoliate knobs, the lowest of which terminates in a loop, as if for some suspended ornament.

"Ring-pin," First Stage.

"Ring-pin," Second Stage.



"Ring-pin," Third Stage.



"Ring-pin," Fourth Stage.

3.—*Objects in this Collection.* There are nine pins of this kind in the collection, six of which are engraved on Plate V. They are all of brass or bronze; and except fig. 13, which is in Mr. Smith's collection, and 18 in my own, they are all the property of Mr. Mayer. Two of them (figs. 11 and 13)

* Catalogue, p. 561.

† Ib., p. 561.

are not strictly "Ring-pins," but they have obviously served a similar purpose. The ornamentation on fig. 13 has been very beautiful, but most of it has flaked off. Fig. 11 has a thin solid head, and may possibly have served the purpose of a stylus, like those noticed by Dr. Wilde; the eccentric position of the hole in the head gives it a peculiar lunette appearance. Figs. 1, 4, 14, and 18, are all of the same class, so far as the ring is concerned; and answer to the Irish type shown in Ring Pin, first stage. In all of them the ring is plain, but the head of the pin through which it passes is variously ornamented. In fig. 1, there are plain lines intersecting diagonally, like the simplest kind of wire-work. In fig. 4, the square is divided by its diagonals, and the two opposite triangles are shaded by lines passing in opposite directions. In 14, there is a central dot, with six others surrounding it; and in 18, the ornament consists of a simple cross.

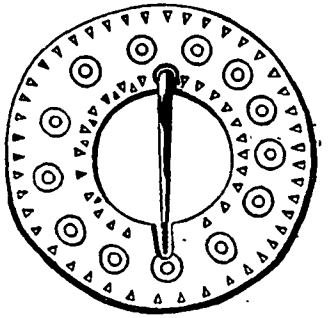
It is impossible to deny that these objects were also hair-pins, as they may have served that purpose, at least occasionally. In like manner the *Hair-pin* proper, which is treated of between *Needles* and *Pins*, may have fastened the dress on emergencies. The articles denoted by figs. 1, 4, 11, 14, and 18, have been pronounced Irish rather than English,* and they are said to be mediæval. †

2.—Circular Brooches.

1.—*Transition state.* It is evident that the "pin-brooch," or "ring-pin," became transformed into the circular brooch, by the gradual shortening of the pin and enlargement of the ring. The ring, which was conspicuous, therefore became the important part; and the pin, which was concealed in the drapery, became subordinate. It is obvious that brooches of this kind were used in connection with clothing only; and that the use of such specimens as ours in connection with the hair was impossible. The circular brooches of Ireland exhibit

* A. W. F., C. R. S. † More recent than Norman or Saxon.

an intermediate state such as is not shown here: the ring is large and greatly decorated, while the pin retains its size. The former therefore swung about on its axis, unless when it was secured to the dress, as it sometimes was. Sometimes in objects of this kind the inner circle diminished, as in that which is conventionally known as the Rob Roy brooch; and the ring was broad and thin. The adjoining cut affords an illustration, from an example from Fairford in Gloucestershire.* It is of the species called quoit-shaped, and is plated with white metal, ornamented with circles indented by a punch. It will be observed that there is a slit in the rim to allow for the play of the *acus*. In this, and the adjoining counties of Berks and Oxford, Saxon fibulæ or brooches showed a complete disc, and some, instead of being convex, were concave or saucer-shaped. The adjoining specimens are also from Gloucestershire. In Kent, again, the circular brooch was large, and frequently magnificent; and was often inlaid with precious stones.



From Fairford, Gloucestershire.

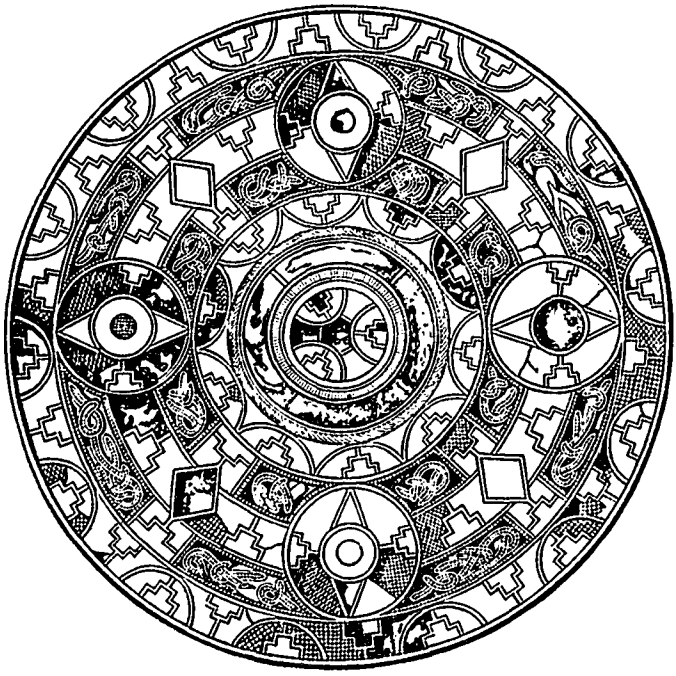
Concave Brooches, from Gloucestershire.

Mr. Roach Smith thinks that the prevailing customs enable us to define the locality from the form, or *vice versa*, almost as in the case of local dialects.† An interesting example of the brooches of Kent is that discovered by Faussett, at Kingston Down, in 1771, in a coffin and grave unusually large. He says, "Near the neck, or rather more towards the right shoulder,

* Archæologia, XXXVII. 146.

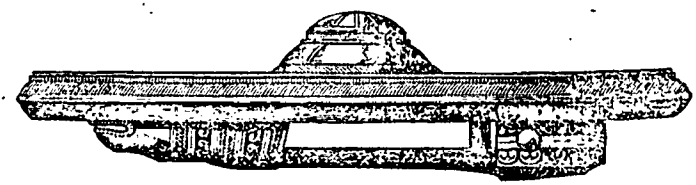
† See the remarks of Mr. Smith, and of Mr. Syer Cuming, quoted by Mr. Crofton Croker.—*Catal. of Lady Londesb. Coll.*, 1853, pp. 21-32.

was a most surprisingly beautiful and large fibula,* (*subnectens.*)



The Great Brooch, from Kingston Down.

It is entirely of gold, and is most elegantly and richly set with garnets † and some pale blue stones, the names of which I am at present a stranger to. It is three and a half inches in dia-



The Great Brooch—Side View

meter, a quarter of an inch in thickness, and weighs 6 ozs. 5 dwts. 18 grs. The cross on the under side is quite entire, and is also beautifully ornamented with garnets.† I flatter myself that it is altogether one of the most curious,

* The term fibula is here used in its general sense.

† These prove to be coloured glass.

and, for its size, costly pieces of antiquity ever discovered in England." *

There is a beautiful cruciform brooch in my own collection, which I procured from a farmer's wife near Hoylake. It is of silver engraved, and is apparently of the seventeenth century. I also possess a fragment of one, on the circle of which there appear to have been ten rude projections like mammæ, for the insertion of stones or paste. It is of bronze, and an engraving of it may be seen in the *Transactions of the Historic Society*,† Vol. I., Pl. i., fig. 4.

2.—*Allusions to it.* Chaucer, who lived in the fourteenth century, describes a carpenter's wife as wearing a very large one :—

> "A broche she bare upon hire low colere
> As brode as is the bosse of a bokelere." ‡

The modern Celtic brooch, like that known as the "Rob Roy brooch," is also large ; and from the Roman times down to our own day, it has been usual to wear it not only at the throat, but also in fastening the dress on the shoulder.§ Clerics usually fastened their copes across the throat, as in a monumental effigy of 1416, at Chartham in Kent. Sometimes the brooch was adorned with a religious device, and in other cases it bore the arms of the wearer. ‖

Of the larger and more important specimens it may be sufficient to mention a few. There are several unique specimens known by particular names, and treasured for their elegance,

* Inventorium Sepulchrale, pp. 77, 78. It is engraved there, Plate I., and it is also engraved in Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*, Pl. x., fig. 6.

† A similar one with twelve points, is engraved in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. VIII., p. 369.

‡ Canterbury Tales, l. 3264. "A silver brooch, worth 100 marks, was as broad as any ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraven with various animals, &c. There was a lesser buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces weight."—*Martin's Western Islands.*

§ Chaucer represents Deiphobe as accidentally finding a brooch on the collar of Diomede's coat :—

> As he that on the coler found within,
> A brooch that he Cresseid yave at morow.
> *Tro. and Cres.*, B. v.

‖ Oxford Brasses, pp. xxxiii, 26, 28.

their rarity, or their intrinsic value. Thus, there is the "Runic" or "Hunterston Brooch," engraved as the frontispiece to Wilson's *Archæology and Præ-historic Annals of Scotland;* the "Brooch of Lorn,"* the "Glenlyon Brooch," the "Oval Brooch," &c.† There is the "Kilkenny Brooch" of silver, and the "Dalriadic Brooch," recently discovered, of gold.‡ "The Tara Brooch," which is in the possession of Messrs. Waterhouse, of Dublin, is thus described:—"White bronze, annular, the expanded portion occupying nearly half the diameter; the depressed parts overlaid with placques of gold, to which is soldered gold interlaced filigree of great delicacy and elegance. Bosses and lines of brown amber, and small portions of glass and lapis lazuli, are set in the projecting parts. The wedge-shaped head of the pin is similarly ornamented with filigree, &c. Irish work of the twelfth century. Diameter, 4 in.; length of pin, 9 in." Elegant brooches of Aberdeen granite were shown at the International Exhibition of 1862, by the Messrs. Rettie.

The Livery Company of London were called "Hurriers" and "Miliners;" the latter name being used because their wares came from Milan; and these included brooches. Among those found in the graves at Barrow Furlong, in Northamptonshire, about twenty-one in number, not one had the pin in it or with it. Three had the catches apparently filed off; and one the hinge also. The hinge consisted of a thin slip of metal, and the junction of the pin was forked; so that, when the hinge was inserted in the fork, a wire passed through the three holes.§ The material varied between pure copper and pale brass.

---

* Whence the brooch of burning gold
That clasps the chieftain's mantle fold,
Wrought and chased with rare device,
Studded fair with gems of price;
On the varied tartans beaming,
As through night's pale rainbow gleaming—
Fainter now, now seen afar,
Fitful shines the northern star.

This is the first of six stanzas descriptive of the Brooch of Lorn, in Scott's "Lord of the Isles," c. ii. v. 11.

† See Wilson.

‡ Ulster Journal of Archæology, iv. 1.

§ Archæologia, XXXIII. 331.

Among the various articles carried by the pedlar of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, brooches were reckoned :—

Poticary.—What the devyll hast thou there at thy backe ?
Pedler.—What, dost thou not knowe that every pedler,
In all kinde of trifles must be a medler ?
Gloves, pynnes, combes, glasses unspottyd,
Pomanders, hookes, and lases knottyd ;
Broches, rynges, and al maner of bedes,
Lace rounde or flat, for women's hedes :
Nedles, threde, thymbell, shers, and all such knackes,
Where lovers be, no such thinges lackes ;
Sypers,* swathbondes,† rybandes, sleve laces,
Gyrdyls, knyves, purses, and pynnaces. ‡

Brooches of the more important kind are also alluded to under the name of stomachers :—

I will have my pomander of most sweet smell,
Also my chaines of gold to hange about my necke,
And my broadered haire while I at home dwell ;
Stomachers of golde becometh me well. §

3.—*Objects in this Collection.* The number of objects of this class is thirty-five in all ; of which six are of silver, fourteen of brass or bronze, and fifteen of lead. Mr. Smith's collection contains the largest number, including sixteen in all ; and there are twelve in my own. Fig. 9 presents material of four different kinds. On a basis of copper or bronze is a thin plate of gold, covered with silver filigree, of fine work, and ornamented with enamel.

Figs. 2 and 3 are silver, each having only one semicircle ornamented, the tongue or pin being the diameter. In one, the ornamentation is funicular ; in the other, it consists of triangular decoration. Fig. 6 is of silver, with six diamond-shaped pieces laid on the circumference of the circle. This

* Thin cloth of Cyprus for veils.
† Rollers for children.
‡ Heywood's Four PP. *cir.* 1533. (A Newe and a very mery Enterlude, of a Palmer, a Pardoner, a Potycary, and a Pedler.)
§ Booke of Robin Conscience, *cir.* 1600.

was a very common mode of ornamentation; four of these pieces are simply checked, but the two at the quadrants have each an impressed *fleur de lis.*

Fig. 5 is a pretty one of lead, with a weak pin. An ornamented band runs along its middle; and it has five equidistant shields, each of which bears a trefoil. Fig. 7 is a coarse leaden one, with the usual diamond ornament; but most of its decoration is obliterated. Fig. 8, which is of lead, wants the pin; it has six equidistant knobs, rudely indented.

Fig 10 is a very elegant one of bronze, bevelled both on the inner and outer side, and of the quatrefoil form. It has the place for the *acus* or pin thinner than the rest, as in numerous other examples.

Fig. 12 is of lead, with four discs, united by an ornamented lozenge in the centre. It thus approximates to the complete disc, having quite dropped the character of a mere ring.

Figs. 15, 16, and 17, are more like the types at the top of the plate, viz., 2 and 3; being plain circular brooches, with very little ornament. Fig. 15 is silver, 16 brass, and 17 bronze. Fig. 19 is an elegant tongue or *acus* of another brooch; it is of silver, guarded with shoulders, and ornamented with wavy lines.

On Plate V., figs. 2, 9, 12, and 17, are from Mr. Smith's collection; 5, 7, 8, and 16, from Mr. Ainslie's; 10, 15, 19, from Mr. Mayer's; 6 from Mrs. Longueville's; and 3 from a small private collection.

4.—*Associations of Brooch and Ring.* The instances in which brooches and rings are mentioned together are very numerous, showing at once the high value of both articles at the time when the expressions were employed, and also their similarity of use. The following are a few examples:—

Who gaf broche and beighe?
Who but Douk Morgan? *
A lond thai sett that sleigh,
With all his wining yare,
With broche and riche beighe.*
But netheles this markis hath do make
Of gemmes set in gold and in asure,
Broches and ringes for Griseldes sake.†

In the *Chester Mystery Plays*, the shepherds do not know what to present to the Babe of Bethlehem; and Secundus Pastor says:—

Goe we nere anon with such as we have broughte,
Ringe, broche, ner precious stonne,
Let us se yf we have oughte to proffer.

And the "first boye" adds:—

Nowe, Lorde, for to geve thee have I no thinge,
Nether goulde, silver, bruche, ner ringe.‡

In the old ballad entitled *Redisdale and Wise William*, he attempts to entice the lady with rich presents:—

He—Come down, come down, my lady fair,
A sight of you I'll see;
And bonny jewels, broaches, rings,
I will give unto thee.
She—If you have bonny brouches, rings,
Oh mine are bonny tee;§
Go from my yettes now, Reedisdale,
For me you shall not see.‖

Sir Walter Scott, in his ballad of *Albert Græme*,¶ says:—

Her sire gave brooch and jewel fine,
Where the sun shines fair on Carlisle wall,
Her brother gave but a flask of wine,
For ire that Love was lord of all.

This, of course, was only an imitation of ancient passages in

* Scott's edition of Sir Tristrem, pp. 23, 28. The term "Beigh," or "Bee," still exists in provincial English to denote a ring; but I have only heard it applied to the large iron ring at the lower end of a rake or hay-fork, to prevent the handle from splitting.

† Chaucer, the Clerke's Tale.

‡ Shaksp. Soc. edition, pp. 140,142.

§ The Aberdeen pronunciation of the word "too."

‖ Motherwell's Minstrelsy, p. 301.

¶ Lay of the Last Minstrel, canto vi.

ballad poetry. Thus, in the ballad of *Young Bearwell*, it is said of a lady's lovers that "they wooed her with broach and ring;"* and in that of the *Cruel Sister*, the two articles are separated for the sake of the rhyme :—

He courted the eldest with glove and ring,
But he lo'ed the youngest aboon a' thing;
He courted the eldest wi broach and knife,
But he lo'ed the youngest aboon his life.†

In the *Ancren Riwle*, or *Regulæ Inclusarum*, the nuns are forbidden to have brooch, or ring, or studded girdle :—

Ring ne broche nabbe ye; ne gurdel i-membred.‡

III.—BUCKLE BROOCHES.—PLATE V.

1. *General Remarks.*—This designation has been adopted for want of a more suitable one. Many of the brooches are circular in form, and made of iron; they have large pins or tongues, as if intended for leather; and they are almost undistinguishable from buckles proper. Yet they were obviously intended to be used in connection with cloth, as both the form, and sometimes the material, were unsuited for leather. The distinction, however, between brooches and buckles is not marked by any definite line; the two classes of objects gradually intermingle. So also do two other objects—the brooch and the fermail. This latter word, which is adopted from the French, indicates a smaller and more elegant brooch, with a finer pin. The term "fermail" was also applied to denote the clasps of a book, or hooks in general; so that, like brooch, it indicated a genus rather than a species, and at its extremes was related to objects of various kinds. The Romans included both brooches and buckles under the term "fibulæ," and of course this intermediate class was also comprehended. Those which resembled the modern buckle, or which presented a ring with a pin across it, were

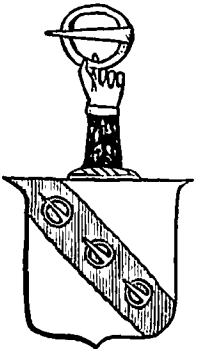
* Motherwell, p. 347. See also the O. B. of Lady Maisry, p. 71.

† Border Minstrelsy, III. 181.

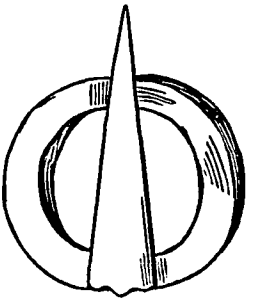
‡ Camd. Soc. edition, p. 420.

generally decorated in a much more costly way than the fibulæ proper.*

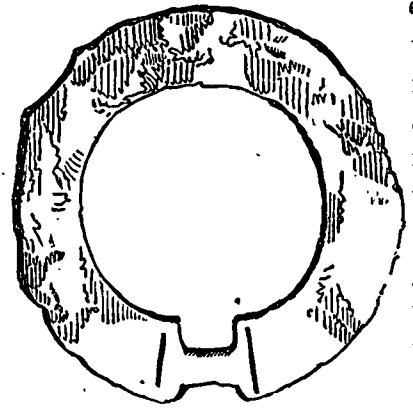
In some heraldic illustrations, as in the arms of Case of Lancashire, one sees buckles which are like brooches, or brooches which are like buckles—in short, a compromise between the two. A similar object is found on the arms of the Goldsmiths' Company of London, granted 1571. There are also buckle brooches given by Worsaæ; one of trefoil form, and another circular, composed of circular bands, with one of larger size at intervals, like a little rosary of soft materials compressed into a circle.† The following forms are from the Saxon graves, and are figured in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. The largest is like one of those just given, and is of brass; while a smaller one of silver, round on the upper side, where it is ornamented, is flat on the lower side. Both were found at Gilton-town, in Kent. In a woman's grave at Sibertswold, the fragments of another were found near the neck. It has been broken (like Fig. 10 on Plate VI.) along the line of the *acus*.



Arms of Case, Lancashire.



The same, enlarged.



Brass, from Gilton-town.

Silver, from Gilton-town.

* Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiqs

† See Plate xiv. fig. 15, which in some respects resembles it.

From Silbertswold.

2. *Use of the Article.*—Brooches of all the kinds specified, especially the more elegant and costly ones, were heirlooms, and descended from generation to generation in the families of those who owned them. It was in this way that some of the rarer specimens, mentioned in the previous article, came to be preserved. The brooch was worn in the cap for various reasons, one of which was as a decoration. Two examples of this are found in the "Inventory of the Goods of the Duke of Richmond,"* 1527.

Item, a bonnet of black velwet, with a brooche and a naked woman, with xviij pair of agglettes and xviij buttons, and a small cheyne about the edge of the same.

Item, a bonett furnished with buttons, and a litill brooche.

They were sometimes also worn in the cap as tokens of pilgrimage; and, in such cases, they bore the figure of the saint at whose shrine they were distributed. Mr. Roach Smith has thrown considerable light upon this subject, previously very obscure; and Mr. Fairholt has also referred to it in his note on the quotation given from Barclay:—

Hygh on his bonet stacke a fayre broche of tynne,
His pursys lynynge was symple, poore, and thynne.†

Sir Walter Scott has introduced two females as wearing the brooch. One is the wife of Watt Tinlinn, the shoemaker, from the tower on the Liddell.

His wife, stout, ruddy, and dark brow'd,
Of silver broach and bracelet proud,
Laugh'd to her friends among the crowd.‡

He adds in a note: "As the Borderers were indifferent about the furniture of their habitations, so much exposed to be

* Camden Soc. Miscellany, III. 3, 12.

† Barclay's Cytezen and Uplondyshman.

‡ Lay of the Last Minstrel, iv. 5.

burnt and plundered, they were proportionally anxious to display splendour in decorating and ornamenting their females." The other example is Ellen Douglas :—

> A chieftain's daughter seemed the maid,
> Her satin snood, her silken plaid,
> Her golden brooch, such birth betrayed.*

Among the "great rarities and riches" in the closet of Queen Mary, are mentioned, "crosses and Ihesus,† brouches, tablets and pendants."

To the female inhabitants of religious houses, such ornaments, provocative of vanity, were strictly forbidden.

> Hore hesmel beo heie istihd ; al withute broche.‡
> [Let their collar be high-pointed ; let none wear a brooch.]

It would appear, also, that a brooch and a girdle, like a brooch and a ring, were true-love tokens.

> O Diomede! thou hat both broche and belte,
> Quiche Troilus gave me in tokining
> Of his true luve. §

In former times, two brooches were sometimes worn on the breast, as two of the large oval or shell-shaped species were found in that position on a skeleton in a sepulchral mound in Orkney. ‖

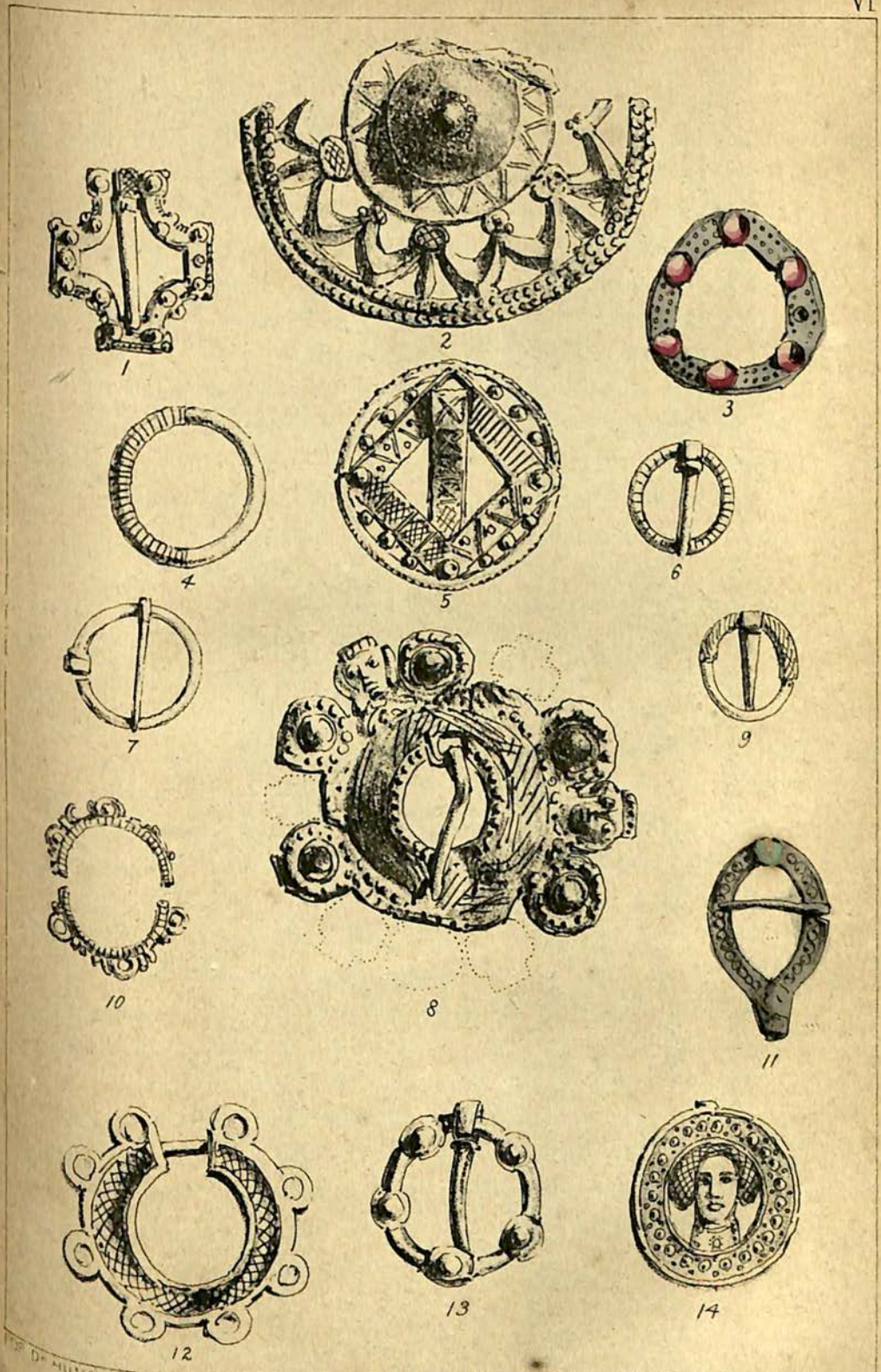
3.—*Description of the Collection.* The number of buckle-brooches is fifty-six, and of fermails twenty-eight; or eighty-four in all. Of these, five are silver, forty-nine brass or bronze, and thirty lead. Mr. Mayer's collection is by far the richest in objects of this kind; for it includes all the silver ones, and fifty of the others. Of the objects engraved on Plate VI., fig. 6 is from Mr. Ainslie's collection, 11 from Mr. Smith's, 10 from my own, 12 and 14 from Mr. Robinson's, and all the rest from Mr. Mayer's.

Figs. 1, 9, and 14 are of silver; and they display very different degrees of decoration. Fig. 1 is in shape a rude

* Lady of the Lake, i. 19.
† Hearne's Glossary.
‡ Ancren Riwle, 424.
§ Henryson, Testament of Cresseide.
‖ Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 553.

octagon, and it is embossed with little hemispheres, which seem irregularly distributed, but which are actually symmetrical in their arrangement; the *acus* is perfect, and exhibits chequered marks at the top. Fig. 9 is a beautiful little fermail, in which a plain ring is cased with an outer coating of delicate work. It is difficult to say whether it has at any time covered the whole circle; and the ambiguity arising from the appearance is increased by the fact, that sometimes such objects were decorated to half the extent of the circle only (see Plate V., figs. 2 and 3). Fig. 14 is a very elegant brooch, approaching to the disc form. A broad band of metal has an outer and inner border plain, between which is a row of circles with intermingled dots. The inner circumference of the band of metal is filled up by the head and neck of a lady; the hair being enclosed in net-work as at present, and the collar of her garment being decorated by an embroidery of stars.

Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, are of brass or bronze. Fig. 4 is plain throughout one semicircle, and decorated in the other; and the *acus* or tongue was fastened at one junction of these two portions, and fell at the other. Fig. 3 is peculiar, inasmuch as it has spaces for six imitations of gems, or for filling with enamel. Fig. 6 presents no special feature; it is a decorated circle, with a plain pin. Fig. 7 appears to have opened and shut like the penannular brooches, now well known, the end of the ring being inserted into the knob which is attached to the other end. Fig. 10 is broken right across in the line of the pin; but there can be no doubt as to its original purpose. Fig. 11 is very peculiar in form. It may be said to be elliptical, with a nozzle at one end and a precious stone at the other. The pin, which is very fine, stands across it. The rim is decorated throughout with small faint circles. Figs. 2, 5, and 8, are of pewter. Fig. 2 is literally "a wheel within a wheel;" having a central disc with an outer margin, and ornamental open work between. The pin was placed at the



FOR Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT
J.E. WORRALL L. TH

BUCKLE BROOCHES.

back, and may possibly have been only the length of the diameter of the inner circle, after the manner of fig. 8. Occasionally, too, the pin was of a different material, as iron wire. It was at one time supposed that this had formed the ornamental top of a box. It seems to have been copied from gold patterns.* Fig. 5 is a circle, with a broad inscribed square, the four segments being filled up with little balls. There are also balls at the corners of the square. Each pair of opposite sides is ornamented with a separate pattern, which in one of the four is nearly obliterated; and the pin or *acus* is broad, apparently ill adapted to pierce even cloth. It may be Roman, but is probably later.† Fig. 8 has been an interesting object when complete. Its outer margin is divided into six parts, each containing a boss and a human head; but one of the former and four of the latter have been lost. It is nearly two inches across; the diameter of the inner open circle being about half an inch. The pin is attached to the margin of this, and a fold of the cloth appears to have been passed up through the hole, and through this the pin was passed. It is not unlikely that it was worn by some one engaged in pilgrimage.

Figs. 12 and 13 are of lead. The former appears to have been constructed in imitation of silver brooches; having eight projecting knobs round the outer margin, and incised chequered lines between that and the inner margin. From the axis which remains, the pin appears to have been a delicate one, but it is wanting. Fig. 13 has five knobs still occupied by the original glass settings.

It is evident that the pictorial representation, and the description of 26 circular brooches (Plates V. and VI.) out of 119, can give only an idea of their general character. These have been selected, however, as types, in the hope of showing something of every kind of size, material, and style.

* C. R. S.

† A. W. F.

IV.—BUCKLES.

1.—Introduction.

The use of buckles is very ancient, as they were known under the general name of fibulæ in ancient Rome. Examples have been found in Pompeii; and they are mentioned in the Apocryphal books of Scripture* as tokens of honour. Even in our own country, they can be traced from an early period of our history, as a simple and natural fastening, which must have suggested itself to very primitive people. In Anglo-Saxon and more recent times, they answered, to a large extent, the purpose which is now served by buttons; but, in our own day, there is a strong tendency to get rid of them altogether as an essential of dress. The silver buckles which adorned the shoes of our grandsires have disappeared; the more common use of trousers has also removed them from the knees. The employment of elastic bands has superseded them as adaptations in the width of the waistcoat; they are rarely used on the cravat or stock; and perhaps the only buckle that could be found in the dress of a modern gentleman, is that which he wears unconsciously in his hat-band, or possibly there may be one on each of his braces.

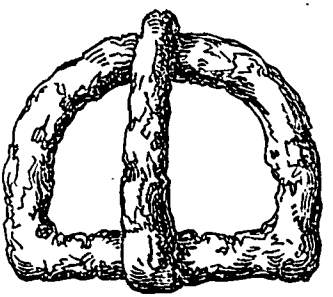
Buckles are formed of almost all, if not quite of all, the metals known to our ancestors. They are of copper, latten, brass, bronze, iron, silver, and even of lead and pewter. More rarely they are of gold. Copper shoe-buckles are mentioned by Kemp in his *Nine Daies Wonder;* and about 1500, buckles of latten were common, fifty-nine of which cost fourpence

* King Alexander honoured Jonathan yet more, and sent him a buckle of gold, as the use is, to be given to such as are of the king's blood.—1 Maccab. x. 89. He gave him leave to drink in gold, and to be clothed in purple, and to wear a golden buckle.—xi. 58. In Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, buckles are represented; as on the Eunuch's belt, Pl. xvii.; on the belts round the winged griffins, Pl. xliii.; and on Pl. xi., Second series.

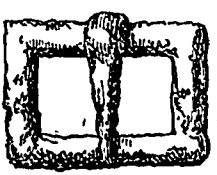
each. Buckles of brass have been found with Anglo-Saxon remains in Northamptonshire, in the graves of Kent, and in many other places; and, at Barrow Furlong they accompanied the remains of a Saxon horse.* Buckles of gold and silver were of course rare, and were used only by the rich. There are none of the former material in this collection. Silver buckles are mentioned in the expenses of the wardrobe of Edward III.;† also buckles of silver gilt.

cccliij. xij boucles arg^{t}.
lxij boucles arg^{t} deaur^{t}.

Those of iron were usually large and strong, and evidently adapted for a coarse kind of work. They are comparatively rare among objects of great antiquity; and, when found, are usually corroded more or less. The accompanying examples from Kent show the appearance which they frequently exhibit.



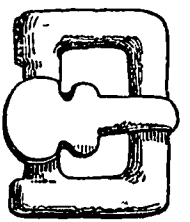
Iron. From a Warrior's Grave.



Square Iron Buckle.

Buckles of brass or bronze are much more numerous; and there is reason to believe that they were so at the time when they were worn, and without reference to corrosion. The following examples from the Saxon graves of Gilton-town, in Kent, show how well they still preserve their regularity of outline. The *acus* in the larger is fiddle-shaped, and in the smaller it is ornamented by a knob. In a few instances we find them of mixed metals, as of iron and brass jointly. For example, an elegant little square specimen

Brass, Gilton-town.

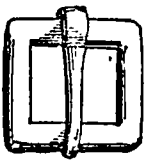


Brass, Gilton-town.

* Archæol., XXXIII. 330. † Archæol., XXXI. 34, 35.

Buckle iron, *acus* and shank brass.

from Kingston Down has the frame of iron and the *acus* of brass; and a very small buckle, with a shank or attachment, has the frame of iron and the *acus* and attachment of brass.



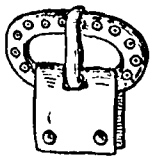
Brass on iron.

2.—Buckles with Shanks or Attachments.

The characteristic of a modern buckle is, that the strap, passing round the hinder bar, is stitched upon itself. Thus, leather works upon metal; and, as the greatest strain occurs at the doubling of the leather, it generally gives way at that place. Formerly, however, the buckle was often compound in its structure. A plate of metal, supposed to be much stronger than leather, passed round the hinder bar of the buckle, and between its two folds the end of the strap was inserted. The whole was made fast by rivets passing through the two folds of metal and one of leather. These were usually from two to five in number, but not unfrequently a single one sufficed. This metallic strap, in connection with the leather, is sometimes called a "shank," and by Douglas, in the *Nenia Britannica*, a "tail," but is here denoted by the word "attachment." In the Anglo-Saxon buckles discovered in ancient graves, buckles with attachments are very numerous; as may be seen in the woodcuts and plates of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.* Numerous beautiful examples may also be found among monumental brasses. The Trumpington brass, 1289, exhibits a beautiful example of the attachment in the guige which supports the shield; and the sword-belt of Fitzralph, in Pebmarsh Church, Essex, has a large metallic attachment at the buckle, distinct from but moving on it.

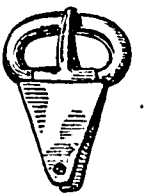
The following are some examples of this class, presenting great variety in size, form, material, and ornamentation:—

* See also Transactions of the Soc. Ant. Zurich, for 1846-47, Pl. vii. and viii.

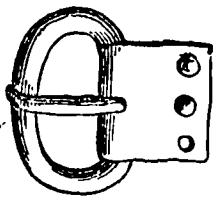


Brass, Kingston Down.

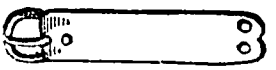
(1.) Among the smaller ones is an iron buckle with a brass shank from Beakesbourne, in the attachment of which only a single rivet has been employed. Another, all brass, from Kingston Down, has been attached by two rivets; and a third, a little longer, from the same place, has been attached by three, of which two still remain. One narrower than any of these, and suitable only for a very small strap, has been fastened by three rivets.



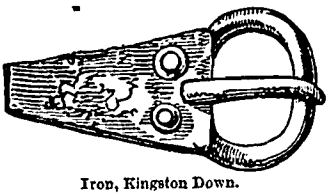
Iron, Beakesbourne.



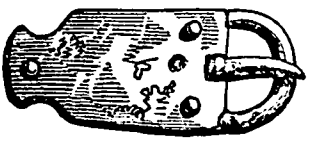
Brass, Kingston Down.



Narrow Buckle and Shank.



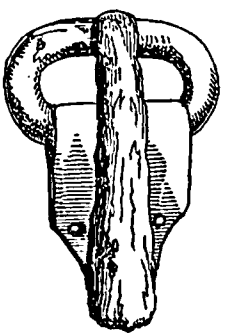
Iron, Kingston Down.



Iron, Beakesbourne.

(2.) Two iron ones, from Kingston Down and Beakesbourne respectively, exhibit the tapering and the waved shank. The former is fastened by two rivets, and the latter by three. A third one, from Barfriston Down, is very peculiar, for it appears to have something like the *acus* of a much larger buckle adhering to it through its whole length. A fourth iron buckle from Beakesbourne, presents no feature of interest except the disproportionate length of its attachment.

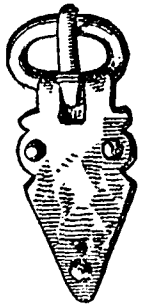
Iron, Beakesbourne.



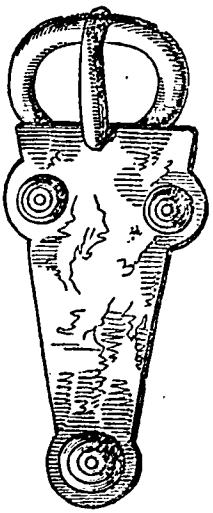
Iron, Barfriston.

(3.) In some instances, the attachment or shank not only tapered, but had two projections opposite to the rivets. With one at each side, near the top, like eyes, and one at the bottom like a nose, such a

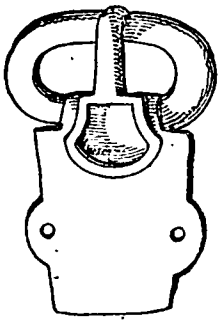
buckle bore a certain amount of resemblance to a horse's-head. It has, therefore, been denominated the horse-head pattern. In examples of this kind the rivets have their heads enlarged and ornamented, but not invariably so; and some of the more interesting specimens are extremely curious and beautiful. There are others, not differing from the ordinary sizes, which may be regarded as approximations to the horse-head type.* The accompanying specimens, both of brass, and both from Kent, may serve as illustrations :—



Tapering Shank.

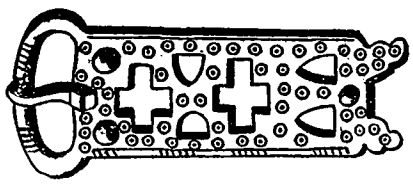


Horse-head Buckle.

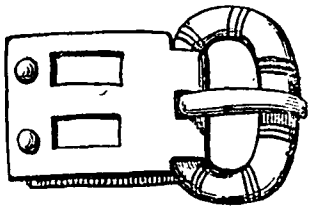


Projections at rivet-holes.

(4.) Sometimes the ornamentation is peculiar, as by piercing, stamping, engraving, superposition, &c. A beautiful example from Sibertswold is pierced with two crosses and four shields, one pair of the latter being between the crosses and addorsed, and the other pair being at the bottom and inverted. It is also covered



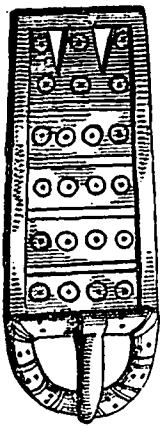
Solid piece, pierced.



Pierced shank.

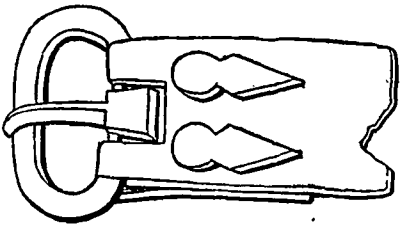
* Buckles of this kind are rare in England, but are common in Frankish graves. They are generally copper, or iron elaborately damascened. Mr. Roach Smith, in *Inv. Sep.* 63 *n.*

irregularly with the well-known circumference and centre, or circle and dot, irregularly placed within a border. It was evidently intended to be laid down upon a strap, because both buckle and attachment are in one continuous piece. A less imposing brass buckle, with two rivet-holes, is pierced by two rectangular openings along the length of the shank, above the rivets. It has also on the buckle the frequently occurring ornament of three cross lines.



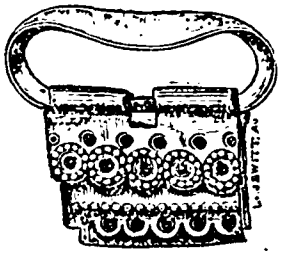
Solid and Ornamented.

Another, in which buckle and attachment appear to be of one piece, is from Barfriston Down. The attachment is divided into five compartments by sets of two parallel cross lines, and in each one there are four circles and centres. But in the compartment at the extremity of the attachment or shank, there are six such circles, three and three, some of which are separated by two little isosceles triangles pierced out. The whole is within a border, and the buckle is ornamented with lines and dots. One from the Isle of Wight, which is in other respects plain, appears to have two little plates superimposed. Small pieces of metal of this size and form are of frequent occurrence; and from the fact that they contain rivet-holes, as well as from the connection in which they were found, it has been supposed that they were riveted to the leather of the belt as uniform ornaments.



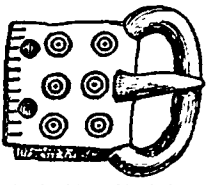
From Chessell, Isle of Wight.

(5.) Occasionally the metallic shank was fastened to metal, as on a breast-plate and back-piece; in which case a strap with holes at both ends, but without any metal, served to connect them. The accompanying buckle, which is beautifully ornamented, appears to have been employed in this



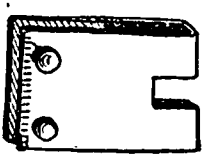
Shank, supposed to have been attached to metal.

way. Another, which cannot have been employed in that way, is placed beside it for a comparison of the ornaments. It is brass, and is distinguished by six double circles. It was found in a woman's grave.



Shank with double circles.

(6.) In numerous instances, the strap of metal within which the leather was inserted, has broken in the middle, or where the greatest strain was on the cross-bar; and thus we often find the attachment or shank apart from the buckle, or perhaps one side of it only. The annexed specimen shows what is here meant; and objects of this kind are so numerous that they have been separately classified. This example may be compared with figs. 11 and 16, Plate VII.

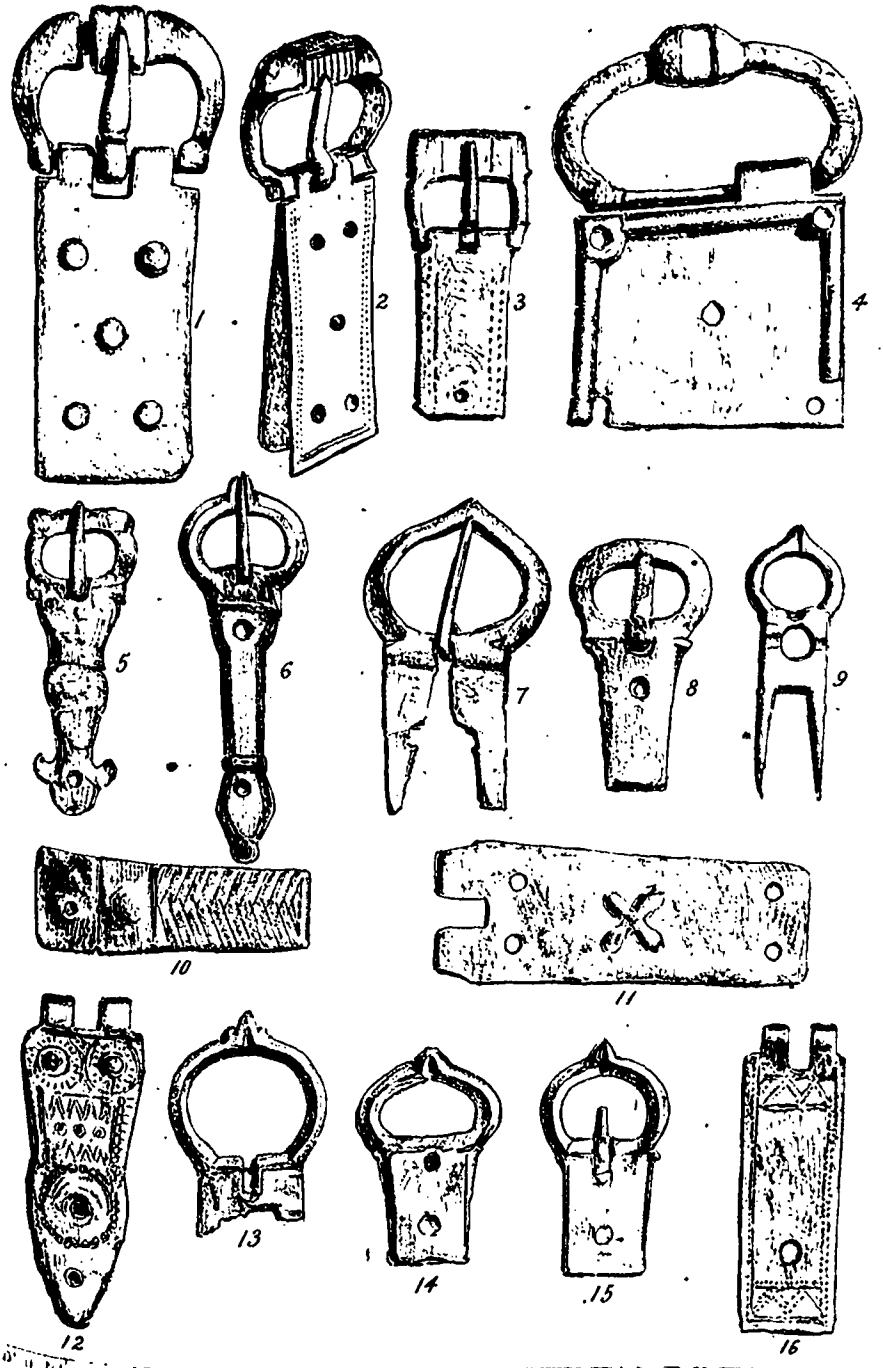


Attachment only.

Of the "buckles with attachments" there are 101 perfect specimens in this collection; viz., forty-six belonging to Mr. Mayer, thirty-two to myself, and twenty-three to Mr. Smith. Of these again, ninety-four (or more than nine-tenths) are brass, and seven lead. Of the mere shanks or attachments there are thirty-seven; viz., ten in Mr. Mayer's collection, nine in Mr. Smith's, and eighteen in my own. Of these again, thirty-six are brass, and only one lead.

Plate VII. exhibits a select and representative set of sixteen objects, out of these 138. The following are a few details respecting them:—.

The first four examples shew the method of fastening by attachments. They are all of brass. Fig. 1 still contains the five rivets by which it was originally fastened; it is coarse and strong. Fig. 2 exhibits more elegance, and, as in the former case, the tongue falls on a runner, while the shank or attachment is decorated with faint dotted lines. Fig. 3



BUCKLES WITH ATTACHMENTS

appears to have had but one rivet. Fig. 4 is peculiar in its construction. The attachment or shank, instead of being double, had a square border of metal which fell upon the leather, the rivets passing through the four corners. A fifth rivet passed through the centre. A complete rim also exists in the collection, which has formed part of another such buckle.

Figs. 11, 12, and 16, are portions of shanks or attachments, one side of the metal only remaining. They also are all of brass. Fig. 11 is rudely ornamented with a St. Andrew's cross stamped from within, and there are places for four rivets. Fig. 12 slightly resembles the "horse-head" pattern, and is curiously ornamented. It is undoubtedly old. Fig. 16 is ornamented with a dotted border and indented lines, forming spaces like equi-angular triangles. Fig. 10 probably represents a similar portion of an attachment, the projections for the tongue having been broken off. It is ornamented at its end with a sort of herring-bone pattern.

In some instances the buckle and shank were one solid piece, and the latter appears to have been laid down upon the strap and riveted to it, or else inserted between two folds of leather. Figs. 5 and 6, from their ornamented character, must have been laid upon the strap; but fig. 8, which is thinner and plainer, was probably inserted between folds of leather. An example precisely similar to figs. 5 and 6 was found at Giltontown, in Kent.*

A curious kind of shank, of the same piece with the buckle, is exhibited in figs. 7 and 9, which are forked at the end; and the tags, or pendants of straps, were occasionally forked in like manner. It may be observed as a general rule, that the pendant, the buckle, and the ornamental studs on the leather, harmonized in character, and the three are figured by the Abbé Cochet, exhibiting uniformity in design; but the rule was not without exceptions. The object represented, fig. 7, is Romano-British.

* Inv. Sep., p. 29; and Plate x. fig. 4.

Figs. 13, 14, and 15, are buckles of lead, the shank in each case being of a piece with the buckle, and forming a sort of case into which the leather was inserted. It could not have withstood a heavy strain.

All the sixteen objects engraved on Plate VII. are brass, or some other alloy of copper, except 13, 14, and 15, which are lead. Figs. 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 12, represent objects in Mr. Mayer's collection; figs. 3, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 16, others in my own; 10 is Mr. Smith's; and 2 Mrs. Longueville's.

3.—Buckles Generally.—Plate VIII.

In the illustrations to which attention has already been drawn, thirty-five examples have been shewn on the plate or in the woodcuts; but the following remarks may also be made:—

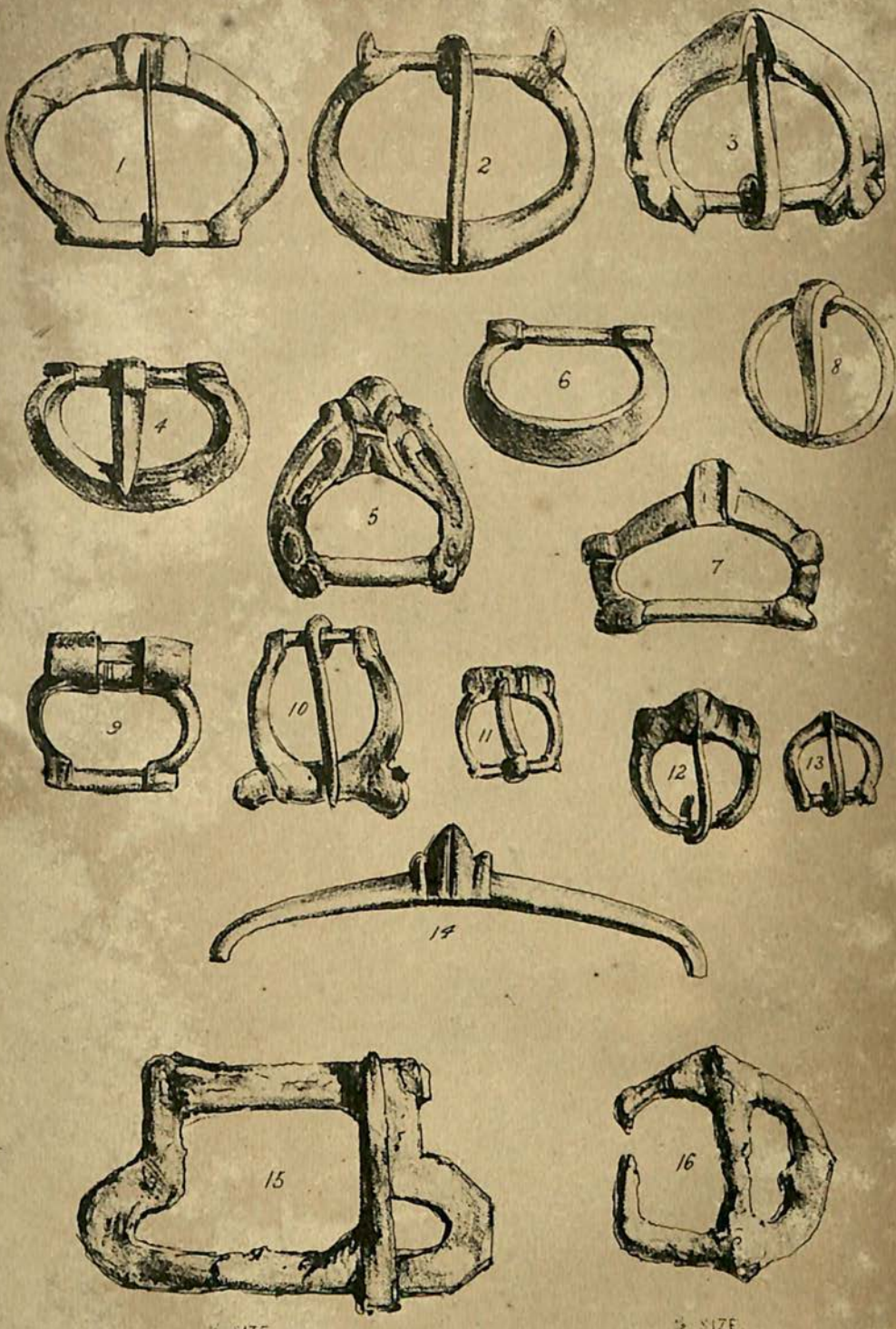
In the time of Edward III., we find a circular buckle fastening the belt, and a corresponding one on the gypciere, or pouch; and square and rectangular ones are also common. On a shoulder-belt, near the end of a strap, A.D. 1361,* we see the top of a buckle, of which fig. 14, Plate VIII., is an exact resemblance. A very curious buckle is figured by Worsaæ,† which appears to be metal fastening metal (not leather). A small metallic swivel on one part covers the tongue, and hooks underneath the semicircular part of the buckle, which belongs to the other part. In the Cotman brasses,‡ a curious one is represented as fastening a shoe, resembling a hook through a ring. The heraldic buckle, as preserved on the armorial bearings of various English families,§ is very varied in shape; but the varieties are so great that any thing more than an indication of them would be out of place. In some examples of the horse-head buckle, the buckle proper was attached to the horse-head portion; in others they are separate, the latter serving merely as a leather ornament. Several beautiful examples are engraved in the

* Waller's Brasses, John Corpe. 1376.

† Afbildninger, p. 67.

‡ Robert Attelathe, Lynn, Norfolk,

§ Gwillim, p. 348; Gloss of Her. *sub voce.*



½ SIZE

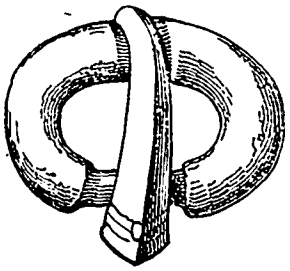
½ SIZE

FOR DR HUMES HOYLAKE

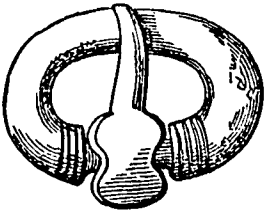
J. E. WORPALL LITH

BUCKLES

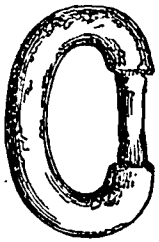
*Inventorium Sepulchrale** and other works.† In the example given in *La Normandie Souterraine*, Plate xv., fig. 5, the buckle, the *acus*, and the horse-head, appear to consist of three separate pieces. The following three specimens are all varieties of the oval or elliptical buckle; they are all from the graves of Gilton-town, in Kent. In the first, which is large, the *acus* extends far over the frame of the buckle; in the second, the *acus* is fiddle-shaped at the junction. These are both of brass. The third wants the *acus*, and is of white metal.



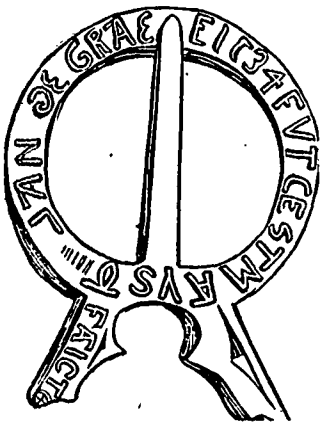
Oval Buckle, No. 1.



Oval Buckle, No. 2.



Oval Buckle, No. 3.



The Pelham Buckle.

On the brass of Richard Kniveton of Muggington Church, Derbyshire, is a very peculiar one; it is totally unlike any in our Cheshire collection. The *acus*, or tongue, seems to be of one piece with the buckle; and there is an opening in the latter, at the point of the *acus*, apparently for the insertion of a soft belt. The Pelham buckle is well known in the

From Muggington, Derby.

* Plates viii., ix., and pp. 28, 29.

† La Normandie Souterraine, Plates xi. and xv.

south of England; especially in the east part of Sussex. The form of it is shown here.

Of separate buckles, such as are represented on Plate VIII., there are 151 whole, and 97 fragments; 248 in all. Analysed according to their material, two are silver (both fragments only), 229 are brass (139 being whole), 13 are iron (eight being whole), and four lead. As regards ownership, 73, whole and fragmentary, are in Mr. Mayer's collection, 53 in Mr. Smith's, and 122 in my own.

The forms given here exhibit only a very few varieties of those in the collection. There are probably not fewer than ninety distinct forms; indeed it is difficult to say that any two are identical. Some of these on Plate VIII. may have had shanks attached to them; but, if so, these have perished. With the exception of 15 and 16 they are of brass, and of full size. From the delicacy of the *acus* in fig. 1, it would appear as if it had been used in connection with cloth rather than leather; for it is a pin rather than a tongue. Fig. 2 may be contrasted with fig. 10; each is elliptical, but the former has its longer axis in the direction of its breadth, the latter in the direction of its length. Each has two projections like small horns; but in the former these are at the extremities of the bar to which the *acus* is attached, and, in the latter, at the extremity of that on which it falls. Fig. 3 has a groove for the *acus* to drop into; and is ornamented with dragons' heads. A somewhat similar bronze buckle, with the dragons' heads in bold relief, holding the hinder bar, was found at Long Wittenham, Berks.* The others, in general, require no explanation, except to say that fig. 5, though peculiar in form, is still similar to others of frequent occurrence. An unnecessary quantity of metal appears to be employed, and it is drawn out into a fantastic form. It is undoubtedly of an early date,† and may be Saxon.‡ Fig. 9 exhibits traces of a runner between

* Archæol., XXXVIII., 333.
† A. W. F.
‡ C. R. S.

the collars. In the iron buckles, 15 and 16, the tongue is fastened by rust, and in the former it appears to have found its way to the wrong side.

Of the examples engraved on Plate VIII., all are brass, except 15 and 16, which are iron. Figs. 2, 4, 5, 10, 15, and 16, represent objects in Mr. Mayer's collection, and are all declared to be mediæval.* Figs. 12, and 8, represent others in Mr. Smith's; 3, one in Mrs. Longueville's; and 1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, others in my own. It is said of all those on this plate that some are Saxon, and one or two perhaps Roman; but that the majority range from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century.

4.—Double Buckles.

These constitute only another variety; and their character may be seen from the first six examples on Plate IX. Fig. 1 is large and strong, though elegant in form; and, as in numerous other cases, the outer rim is stronger than the cross-bar on which the *acus* worked. It is of a twisted or rope pattern, and may possibly have served as a species of clasp. Fig. 2 is a fragment; but when perfect it has been very elegant, with floreated extremities at the cross-bar, and at the sides of the knob on which the *acus* falls. Fig. 3 is crown-shaped, with shoulders on the cross-bar to retain the *acus* in its place; but it is not a double buckle in the ordinary sense of the term, as the two sides are not symmetrical. The end of the strap passed through the upper opening, and was pierced by the *acus;* after which it could be passed through the lower opening, and lie under the end of the strap which was attached to the buckle. Fig. 4 is not merely a double buckle, but one with a shank; and, like all the others in that row, it is narrower at the position of the cross-bar than either above or below. It bears a rude resemblance to the figure 8, and is almost identical in form with that which appears on the plain belt of Thomas de Greye, 1562, given among the Norfolk

* C. R. S.

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brasses. In that case, however, the buckle has two prongs. Fig. 5 is a further example of a double buckle with an attachment; and it is not unlikely that fig. 2 may have had one also. But in this case the leather strap appears to have been much narrower than the buckle, if we may judge from the attachment, while in fig. 4 it was broader. Fig. 6 is an irregular ellipse; the cross-bar remains, but the *acus* is gone. Fig. 7, like fig. 3, is a double buckle in appearance only. The *acus* fell merely on one side, and the lower opening admitted of the insertion of the opposite end of the leather. There are two flanges raised up; and the *acus*, in the shape of a T or St. Anthony's cross, plays within these. Fig. 8 is not a buckle, and is engraved here by mistake. It is a sort of connecting link between the buckle and the clasp. One end of the leather was inserted in the narrow rectangular space, and made fast round the bar, which is broken in the original. The remaining space was open for the insertion of a metallic attachment on the other end of the strap.

Objects of this class are not numerous, amounting to only sixteen in all. Fifteen are of brass; and eleven, including the only lead one, belong to Mr. Smith. Of those engraved, figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, are from Mr. Smith's collection; 6, from Mr. Mayer's; 3 and 8, from my own.

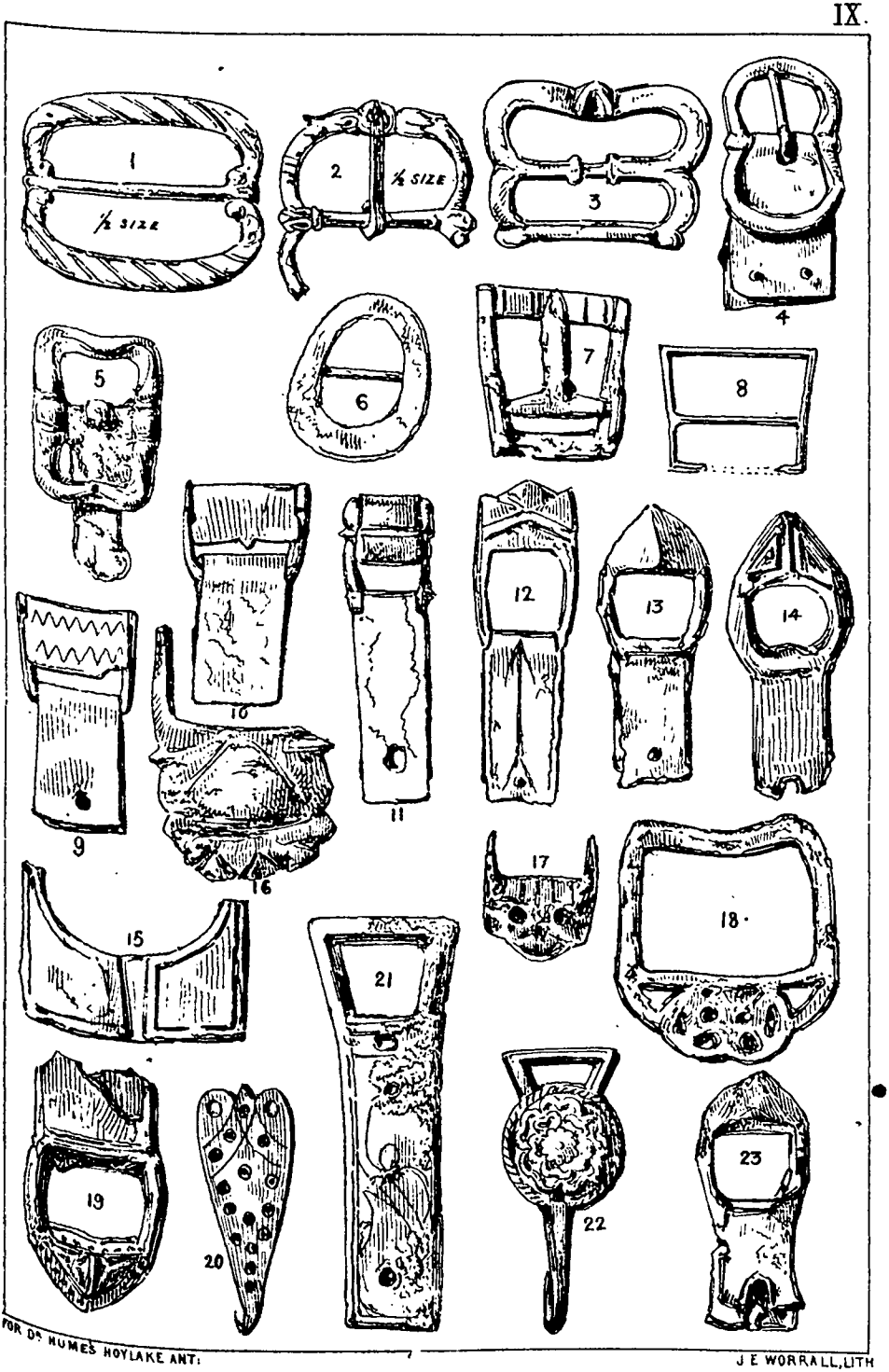
5.—General Remarks.

As this subject is relatively so large, a few general remarks may not be out of place.

Shoe-buckles are mentioned so early as the time of Piers Plowman, who, speaking of the improved comfort of friars, says:—

> **Now have they buckled shoes,**
> **Lest they hurt their heels,**
> **And hose in hard weather**
> **Fastened at the ancle.**

These gave place in time to other modes of fastening shoes; but they were re-introduced about the time of William and



FOR Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT:

J E WORRALL, LITH

DOUBLE BUCKLES AND HASPS.

Mary, and maintained their place till the end of the last century. They are mentioned as being used upon the boots by John de Garlande, thirteenth century, who introduces the Latin term *Pluscula*, and interprets* it by the old English "bogyll." He adds—"Pluscularii (bogelers) sunt divites per plusculas (bogyls) suas, et lingulas, et mordacula, per limas, et loralia (brydels) equina."

They were also employed for fastening the garters in the reign of Edward III.; and the buckle still preserved upon the badge of the Knights of the Garter, is a relic of the practice. Latimer tells us in one of his sermons,† "My father was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath field."

Buckles large and small were used on various parts of the armour; and in "Some Passages in the Life of a Herefordshire Lady during the Civil War," ‡ a payment is recorded as made in 1639:—

"To Mr. Brian Newton, for putting buckles on the tasses of the armour of Bradard."

Among the remains of men and horses, buckles are found in the position which they occupied on the dress or equipment. For example, at Filkins§ in Oxfordshire, a large iron buckle was found at a woman's waist; and there are numerous such examples in the diggings of Faussett, Mr. Akerman, and others.‖ Among early Saxon remains at Barrow Furlong, the iron bit and a buckle were found lying by the jaws of a horse. The buckles on the girdles of knights were not only numerous, but sometimes very splendid.¶ They are still

* Mayer's Vocab. p. 123.

† Sermon V.; On the Duty of Kings.

‡ Archæologia, XXXVII., 204.

§ Ibid., XXXVII., 142.

‖ Ibid., XXXIII., 330.

¶ I have alluded to the subject in some detail, in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. XIV., p. 150, &c.

occasionally found along with swords, and somewhere near the waist.

Buckles were found in connection with the remains of a British charioteer, in a tumulus on the wolds of Yorkshire.* These were five in number. The tongues of some of them still remain, and they undoubtedly belonged to the harness. In the treatise of Walter de Biblesworth, thirteenth century, they are mentioned among the things necessary for the chariot.†

> Les cous de chivaus portunt esteles,
> Coleres de quyr et bourle boceles.

On the fly-leaf of the Book of Ballymote, 1394, Noah is represented with a buckle on his belt;‡ and a description of Donough Macnamara, 1459, represents him as putting on "a saffron-coloured belt of war, embellished with clasps and buckles."§ In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, there are on one tray fifty bronze buckles, single and double, of different patterns, but none of much antiquity. They vary in size from half an inch to seven-eighths, and were evidently personal in some cases, though in others possibly used in harness.‖ In another part of the collection are twenty-seven buckles, several of which are attached to bronze straps; and large belt buckles.¶ In an old print of the Black Prince, the waist-belt and shoulder-belt have double buckles; and in one of James, 10th Earl of Derby, double buckles.

In the *Shuttleworth Accounts* there are various notices of buckles, showing their price at the close of the sixteenth century; and on two occasions buckles for harness are named.**

* Proceedings of the Archæological Institute at York; and Worsaæ's Primitive Antiquities, 101.

† Mayer's Vocabularies, p. 168.

‡ Wilde's Catalogue, 301.

§ Ib. 320, *n.*

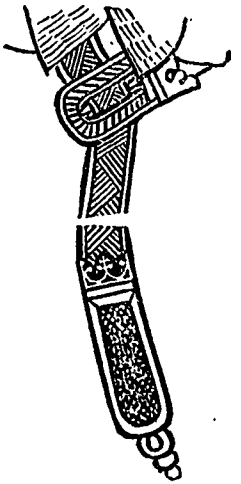
‖ Ib. 596.

¶ Ib. 593.

** The Saddler of Whaleye, for headstall and reininge for two newe bridles, and all new furniture belonging to the same, xiij^{s} iiij^{d}; for seaven newe tagges which was sett to my Mr. Saddles, x^{d}; nails, viij^{d}; buckles, v^{d}; for garthe-webb to be seaven garthes, xvj^{d}.—p. 105; see also 475.

The buckle-maker followed a separate and distinct trade, which is noticed in several of the mediæval treatises. Besides the name *Pluscularius*, we also find in the glossaries "*Hic Capellarius*, a bokyl-maker." *

Some of the ornamental buckles on belts, especially those of ladies, were four or five inches long, and gilt. A very elegant example was found on the body of Edward I., when it was exposed in Westminster Abbey, in 1774. It was decorated with imitation gems and pearls.† A similar large one is found on a brass in St. Stephen's Church, Norwich, where, contrary to custom, the *acus* passes through the belt



Maud, wife of Thomas Blackwall, Wirksworth Church, 1526.

Blackwall Brass, Wirksworth Church.

instead of under or over it, as in the examples shown here. Roman bronze buckles have been found by Mr. Smith at Richborough;‡ and buckles have also been found in Frankish graves,§ numerous and different in form. Owing to the changes of time, however, the ancient trade of *Pluscularius* has disappeared, or has become merged in the more general manufacture of hardware; and the more frequent use of

* *Nominale*, Mayer's Vocabularies, 212.

† Planche, p. 131.

‡ Antiquities of Richborough, p. 88.

§ Archæologia, XXXVII. 104.

machinery, as well as the tendency to localize productions of a certain kind, has withdrawn from our view that which was formerly a prominent and interesting department of the arts.

V.—HASPS OR CLASPS.—PLATES IX. & X.

1.—GENERAL REMARKS.

THE hasp, or "clasp," as it was more usually called, was almost indispensable in the dress and decorations of the middle ages. The variety of forms which it can assume may be seen almost any day in the dresses of the children of a village school; and, from what follows, it will be seen that such objects were also very varied in the olden time.

The remains of a clasp were found at Mentmore in Bucks, by Mr. Ouvry,* and clasps were found in large numbers, in 1852, in tumuli of North Germany and near the Elbe.† The morse or clasp was generally of rich goldsmith's work, and the patterns were numerous. A picture of one is given by Mr. Fairholt in his *Costume in England*, p. 566. Sir Walter Scott represents Prior Aymer as wearing one of these clasps in the reign of King John.

> In defiance of conventual rules, and the edicts of popes and councils, the sleeves of this dignitary were lined and turned up with rich furs, and his mantle secured at the throat with a golden clasp.—*Ivanhoe* I., p. 19.

In Mr. Roach Smith's *Catalogue of London Antiquities*,‡ a girdle clasp is figured, of bronze enamelled; the red and yellow colours being still partly visible. There are two bars underneath for fastening the belt. Among the articles in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, is a girdle clasp inlaid with niello.§ Another has two square attachments or shanks, with a circular disc-like clasp in the centre.‖ There is a front face

* Archæolog. XXXV., 380.
† Ib. XXXVI., 279.
‡ No. 301, p. 65.
§ Worsaæ Afbildninger, p. 77.
‖ Ib., p. 82.

on the clasp, and a chess-board pattern on the attachments, surrounded by figures.

In the paintings which represent the domestic life of the Aztecs, both mother and daughter have a square clasp at the bosom fastening the dress;* and something of the same kind is noticeable on the Assyrian sculptures. There is a clasp on the belt of a warrior, the leather being apparently inserted in the metal;† there is a curious clasp on the girdle of the king;‡ and, again, a metallic clasp on a belt is unusually plain.§

Dr. Wilson, in his *Archæology and Præ-historic Annals of Scotland*, describes and figures a supposed belt clasp. It is like a link of a chain, of black shale, and was found in the Isle of Skye. Its length is about three inches. Mr. Roach Smith also notices several clasps from Stowe Heath, in Suffolk;‖ and in Mr. Fairholt's *Costume in England*, there are several given.¶ In Meyrick and Skelton's *Armour* a tace is fastened without a buckle,** and in several places are represented studs, which pass through holes, and turn round so as to stand across.†† This mode of fastening bears some resemblance to one plan which is suggested hereafter from the objects found in Cheshire.

The following are a few examples of hasps or clasps of unusual interest. At Wappenham, a lady appears with two large studs in front;‡‡ they form a clasp as in modern times. In the carved statues in front of Barneck Church, Northamptonshire, there is one with a distinct clasp on the front of a robe with jewelled border. The date is supposed to be *temp.* Henry VI. or VII.§§ In an ancient mosaic, discovered at Seville in Spain, a Roman is represented as leading his horse.

* Schoolcraft's Archives of Aboriginal Information, IV., 441.

† Layard's Illustrations, Plate xvii.

‡ Ib., Pl. xxiii.

§ Ib., Pl. xxxv.

‖ Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. III.

¶ Costume in England; a History of Dress from the earliest period till the eighteenth century, pp. 273, 285, 295.

** Plate viii.

†† Plates xix. xxvii.

‡‡ Hudson's Monumental Brasses of Northamp., Pl. xv.

§§ Carter's Anct. Sculpture and Painting, Vol. I.

His waist is encircled by a succession of belts, that round his loins being secured by a hasp or clasp, and decorated with ornamental studs.

The term *Firmacularius*, applied to the maker of these clasps or hasps, and also to the makers of buckle-brooches and fermails. John de Garlande says:*—

Firmacularii habent ante se firmacula parva et magna, de plumbo facta et de stagno, ferro, cupro, et calibe; habent etiam herea, pulchra monilia, et nolas resonantes.

2.—Classification and Detailed Description.

The term hasps has been adopted as a general term to indicate a variety of modes of fastening; as, for example, where neither pin nor *acus* of buckle is employed. It must not be supposed, therefore, that the objects are all of one character; on the contrary they are very varied, and admit of subdivision into several classes. Omitting the first eight objects engraved on Plate IX., and which have already been noticed under the head of *Double Buckles*, the whole of the types may be seen in the fifteen other objects on Plate IX., and the twenty-one on Plate X. For the sake of order we shall treat of them in groups.

Hasp from the Temple Church.

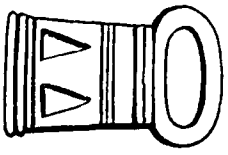
(1.) The three which are indicated by the numbers 9, 10, and 11, Plate IX., all possess shanks or attachments; so that they admit of being fastened to cloth or leather. It is obvious that they were intended for light work, as they are incapable of sustaining a great strain; but any of them would serve admirably for the suspension of a light object round the neck, say the bugle-horn, dagger, or wood-knife. Their characteristic is, however, that each has a sort of lid hinged round the front bar, and dropping down so as nearly to cover the whole space of the clasp. Fig. 10 appears to be deco-

* Mayer's Vocab. p. 125.

rated with a little point; and the lid in fig. 11 is thicker than in the others, and consists of two rolls. A somewhat similar example was found a few years ago, during the repairs in the Temple Church. It was procured in or near a tomb; and it is represented in Mr. Richardson's work on the Temple Church, in which the ancient coffins, &c., are delineated. It will be observed that the little lid is hinged on the upper side in this case, instead of on the lower side, as in the examples given on Plate IX. It is supposed that fastenings of this kind required to be undone rapidly, and that the knot of a cord, or a thickened portion of a strap, passed up and kept the lid closed, merely by the weight resting on it. The knot could be passed through when the lid was raised, but not otherwise. In fig. 17, Plate X., there is an attempt to show the way in which it was probably used. I have six of these in my own collection, and Mr. Smith has three; so that we know of nine, all brass. Of the examples engraved, figs. 9 and 10 are from my collection, and fig. 11 from Mr. Smith's.

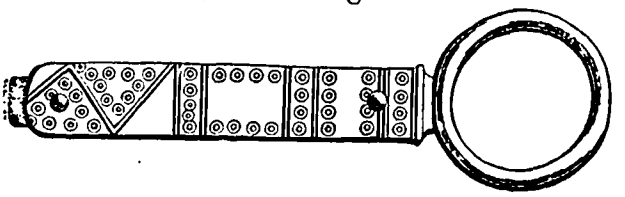
(2.) Figs. 12 and 21 are brass or bronze hasps, with shanks or attachments; figs. 13, 14, 19, 23, are lead ones with similar appendages. These are the only leaden objects delineated on this plate. None of the six appears to have been qualified to bear a severe strain; for lead is a yielding material, and, except in the case of 21, none of them had more than a single rivet. The four that are of lead, and fig. 21, are each cast in a single piece; whereas in fig. 12 the shank revolves on the hinder bar of the clasp. All the lead ones, and one of the brass ones, are very broad and strong at the point or front bar; and two of the lead ones, 14 and 19, exhibit a slight attempt at ornamentation. On the shank of fig. 12 is an arrow; and on that of 21 there is a sort of double curve.

On Plate XI. a large hasp of this kind has been engraved by mistake, fig. 22. One with an oval orifice is shown



Belt Hasp from Kent.

here; it was found in a man's grav in Kent. It is of brass, and there were pieces of leather adhering to it. Another very pretty object in bronze, with a circular termination, is supposed to have been the end of a belt or girdle. It was found at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, and is described by Mr. Akerman.* It is prettily ornamented with lines and circles, and has been fastened by two rivets. One, with a ring similar to this, was found at Steinberg in Switzerland, and is figured by M. Troyon;† and an oblong bronze one in the Meyrick collection, is ornamented with three dragons' heads.



Belt Hasp from Gloucestershire.

Figs. 15, 16, 17, and 18 are hasps, but without shanks; and all of them exhibit the characteristic just noticed, *i. e.*, great breadth and strength at the extremity or front bar. In the four examples, this metallic protuberance assumes four different forms. In the first (15), it is plain with panelled spaces, which have an intermediate space as if for the tongue of a buckle; in the second (16), it assumes a more elaborate ornamentation; in the third (17), we have something like a cat's head; and in the fourth (18), with some partial piercing there is a little triangular open work. The object, fig. 18, is of the fifteenth century.‡

In the three principal collections there are sixty-six hasps of this general class; viz., fifty-four of brass, and twelve of lead. Of these, forty-five are in my own collection, fifteen in Mr. Smith's, and six in Mr. Mayer's.

Of the objects engraved, figs. 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 21, are brass; and figs. 13, 14, 19, and 23, lead. Again, fig. 21 is

* Archæologia, XXXVII., 146.
† Habitations Lacustres, p. 162, Pl. xi., fig. 13.
‡ A. W. F.

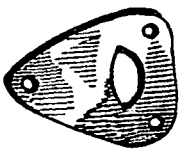
from Mr. Smith's collection; 13 and 23 from Mr. Mayer's; and the other seven enumerated from my own.

(3.) Figs. 20 and 22 constitute a class of themselves; and both afford facilities for being attached to leather. Fig. 20 has two rivet-holes, and appears to have been ornamented with fifteen small circles, each having a central dot, the whole rudely resembling a peacock's tail. One or two of these, which symmetry would require to be present, appear to have been obliterated. The hook may have been used to take hold of a hasp, or to be inserted in cloth for the purpose of sustaining it. The other hook, 22, affords space for the insertion of leather; and its point is more fully developed, showing sufficient strength to work on metal, or in a hole of leather or cloth. Instead of the ornamentation by circles, it presents us with a circular space having a wreathed band at its outer margin, and a sort of double rose in the centre. If we allow this fact to have its usual significance, the object must be assumed to be more modern than the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. It is for hooking a strap,* and is of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Similar hooks and their application are shown in *Wilde's Catalogue*, R. I. A., p. 572, and in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, IX., 271, 274.

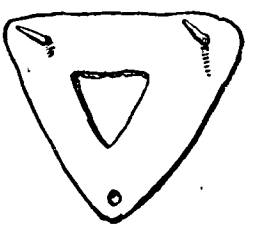
It is probably to such hooks that allusion is made in the *Cobbler of Canterbury*, 1608—

> Her sleeves blew, her traine behinde,
> With silver hookes was tucked I find.

It is not impossible that hooks of this kind were used to lay hold on the orifice of the clasp; but larger ones would be required for the two terminations given above from Kent and Gloucestershire. For a hook like that represented in fig. 22, a catch like the first of these would be suitable. It also served as a



Catch for Hook.



One of Two Catches.

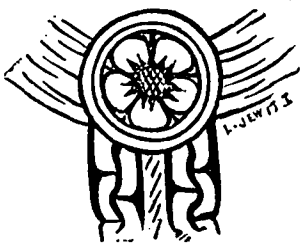
* C. R. S.

sort of leather ornament, being attached by three rivets. Two other ornaments, very similar to this one, were found by the right and left side of a skeleton, as if they had served for the suspension of objects from the belt.* The two objects, each of which has a groove running through its whole length, were found together, and it was supposed that a portion of the linen or other cloth was pulled through the hole, and a pin run along through it. This is possible; or each may have been employed in connection with one or two fastenings.

Peculiar Fastenings.

There are about eight of these hooks, all of which, except fig. 20, belong to Mr. Smith. That one, which was one of the objects that first arrested attention, is the property of Mrs. Longueville. Hooks were sold by the travelling pedlars of two or three centuries ago, no doubt of this and of other kinds also.

(4.) There is a species of fastening of which we possess no specimen. It is called a "stud" from its appearance, though in reality a clasp; still, having been reintroduced, we see it daily on the belts of women and children. The first is from the tomb of the wife of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert in Norbury Church,



Fitzherbert, Norbury Church, 1588.

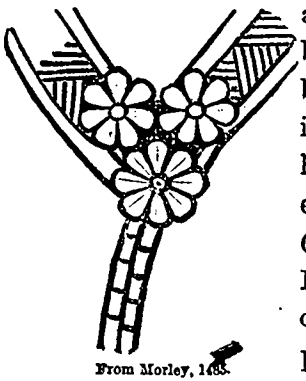
Cokaine Brass.

and is of the date 1588; the second is from the Cokaine Brass, in Ashborne Church, Derby. This latter is the "Girdle-stud," mentioned in the Affectionate Shepherd, quoted under the

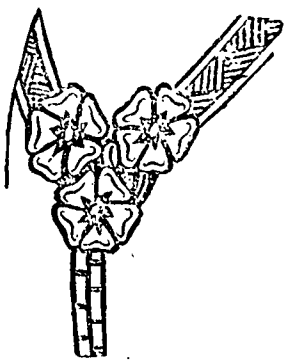
* Inv. Sep., p. 61.

head of *Bosses* and *Studs*. In the fourteenth century, when the buckle began to disappear, the morse or clasp took its place; and we may regard it as a species of this, though the mode of fastening does not appear.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries three studs were occasionally employed, or golden rosettes, which must have appeared very beautiful. A chain was pendent from them, at the end of which hung a pomander box or something of this sort. The brasses of two ladies called Tilghman,* in Snodland Church, Kent, 1641, exhibit that mode of fastening; and an elegant example appears in Sefton Church, Lancashire, on the brass of Margaret Bulkeley, (1529,) daughter of Richard Molyneux. Other examples may be seen in Chesterfield and Morley Churches, Derbyshire.



From Morley, 1488.



From Chesterfield Church.

(5.) On Plate X. there are two objects of peculiar construction. These are figs. 1 and 23, the former of which is brass, and the latter lead. The characteristic of each is that it contains two rectangular spaces of unequal sizes; though in the former the larger one almost merges into a semicircle, and in the latter they become rhomboids by compression of the

* Oxford Brasses, p. 138.

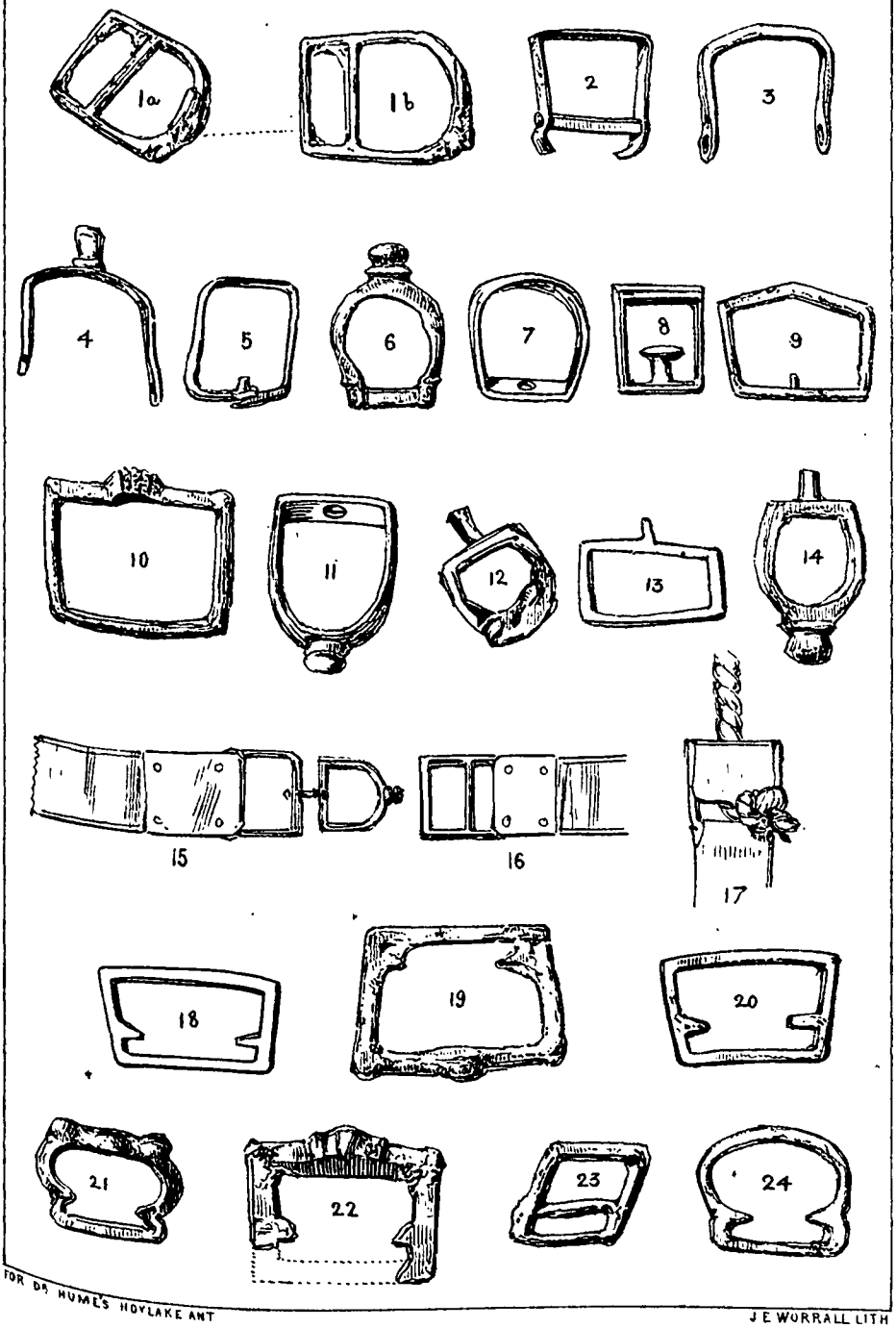
lead. The former is ornamented by a fox's head, which runs nearly along the top, and which is suggestive probably of the woodcraft of the person who was expected to use it. We will not be far wrong in supposing that a strap of leather went round the hinder bar, occupying the smaller space, and leaving the larger one to receive the fastening from the other end of the strap. Fig. 2 appears to have been of the same class, but slightly injured, like fig. 8 on Plate IX.

There are fourteen objects of this kind in the collection—five of brass and nine of lead. To Mr. Smith eight of them belong, to Mr. Mayer four, and to myself two. Of those engraved, figs. 1 and 2 are from my own collection, and are brass; fig. 23 is from Mr. Smith's, and is lead.

(6.) Another class of objects is indicated by figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. It will be seen that 7 and 11 have holes at one side, as if forming part of a swivel; there are similar holes in 6 and 10, which are invisible in the drawing; and there were similar holes in 8 and 9, but they are filled up by the points being rusted in the holes. The six objects are of six different shapes, square, arched, stirrup-shaped, pentagonal, &c., but they coincide in this point. We will see the reason by and by.

So many as twenty-eight of these objects have been procured, all of which are brass but one, which is lead. Of these, sixteen belong to myself, ten to Mr. Mayer, and two to Mr. Smith. Those which are engraved are all brass; figs. 10 and 11 are from Mr. Mayer's set, and the other four from my own.

(7.) As if to supply the deficiency of the objects last noticed, we find a set with projecting points, such as are shown in figs. 12, 13, 14. These again are all of different shapes, semicircular, rectangular, and stirrup-shaped; also, while one is prettily ornamented with the fox's head which we saw in fig. 1, another consists of plain square metal, and the third is rounded, and terminates in a knob. Figs. 15 and 16 show the use which we suggest for these pieces of metal. Fig. 16 represents a strap attached to the lower part of one with two spaces (like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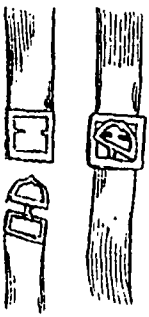
24
FOR DR HUME'S HOYLAKE ANT
J E WORRALL LITH

HASPS.

1 or 23), and a slight piece of metal is riveted over the junction of the strap. The two which constitute the swivel are attached to the other end of the strap, as in fig. 15, and the fastening is prepared. The semicircular piece of metal passes through the rectangular space, and is turned round and stands across it. It is unloosed by turning it so as not to stand across, but to pass through the opening. The accompanying woodcut, which was rudely cut by an amateur in 1847, may serve to show the fastening both open and shut.



Open. Shut.

There are fifty-four objects in the collection, like 12, 13, and 14; of which one only is lead. Of these, eight belong to Mr. Mayer, nine to Mr. Smith, and thirty-seven to myself. Figs. 13 and 14 are from objects in Mr. Mayer's collection, and fig. 12 from one in my own.

(8.) Another class of objects is shown in six of the seven figures which form the two lowest rows. Instead of a separate rectangular space, as in figs. 1 and 23, there are merely one or two projecting points beyond which the strap was fastened. There is less variety of form in these, though there is some; and the purpose was answered as well as by a cross-bar. There are nineteen of these objects in all, and the whole of them are brass. In my own collection there are twelve, in Mr. Smith's four, and in Mr. Mayer's three. All the six objects engraved are from among my own specimens.

One would expect, if this theory be correct of the mode of using them, that the three great classes would exist in nearly equal numbers; viz., those with the swivel axis, those with the swivel hole, and those with neither. And possibly they did exist in equal numbers at the time of their deposit, however different they may be now in that respect. Omitting the leaden ones, of the first kind there are fifty-three, of the second twenty-seven, and of the third twenty-four.

(9.) There are a few of special forms, as figs. 3 and 4, which

have been suspended at the points of the fork, and which are similar in structure, though the latter has a knob on one side. Fig. 5 is a thin strip of metal, which may have been used like fig. 8; but perhaps it was only a binding or ferrule on a square piece of wood, with a pin fastening its extremities together.

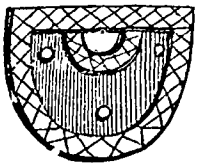
It thus appears that, under the general name of "hasps," we enumerate two hundred objects, independent of one or two which are engraved by mistake on wrong plates. Probably not one of these is more than a portion of a hasp; that is, one side of it, or even part of one side. The articles of brass are one hundred and seventy-seven, and of lead twenty-three; or in the proportion of nearly seven and a half to one.

VI.—TAGS OR STRAP ENDS.—PLATE XI.

IN modern times, the strap usually terminates in its own leather, which is supposed to be sufficiently substantial; but in former times its point in each case was covered with a little plate of metal, or inserted within two folds of metal. This was the tag or pendant of which we now treat. It has been revived in our own days, especially in connection with the uniform of volunteers.

The accompanying illustration shows a plain tag of an early date, and will serve to give an idea of their general character. It is from Mr. Jewitt's collection. A semicircular plate, supposed to be an object of this kind, was found in one of the Anglo-Saxon graves of Kent.* The simple pendant merely seeming to give weight and consistency to the strap,

Plain Tag.

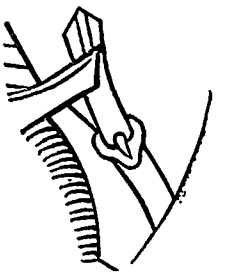


Semicircular Tag.

* Inv. Sepulchrale, p. 84.

may be seen on the sword-belt of Albrecht v. Hohenlohe, 1319, as engraved on the slab in Scönthal Church, Germany. It occurs also on the brass of Thomas Statham, in Morley Church, Derbyshire, of the date 1470; and that of Roger Bothe, in Sawley, 1478. In both these it appears ribbed down the centre. The one on the sword-belt of John D'Aubernon,

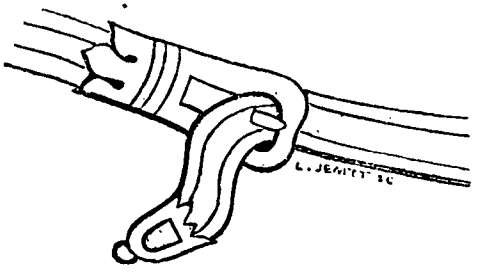
Thomas Statham, Morley Church, 1470.



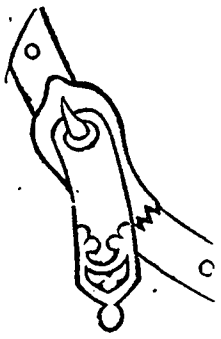
Roger Bothe, Sawley Church, 1478.

1277, appears to be plain, with the exception of a knob at its extremity.

In general, such appendages were more or less ornamented; besides which, there is a degree of harmony or resemblance between them and the shanks or attachments of the buckles in connection with which they were used. Thus, in the Trumpington brass, 1287, we notice a degree of harmony or uniformity between the shank of the buckle and the pendant on the guige of the shield; and the same may be said of the metal on the guige of D'Aubernon. An example is found on the brass of Sir John Curzon, in Kedleston Church; while in that of Henry Sacheverell, in Morley Church, 1558, the uniformity is left in doubt, as the tag only is visible, owing to the position of the strap. On the brass of Richard

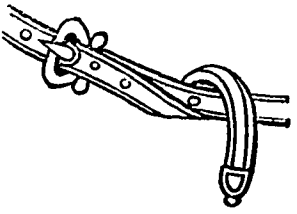


Sir John Curzon, Kedleston Church.



Richard Kniveton, Muggington, 1450.

Kniveton of Muggington, Derby, the buckle and tag are of two entirely different patterns. The latter is perforated and floreated; and its extremities form an irregular semicircle instead of being in a straight line. The former is indented. In other cases, the two resembled each other, but were not identical in pattern.



Henry Sacheverell, Morley Church, 1558.

On the Stapleton brass in Ingham Church, Norfolk, the plates on the belt are rectangular, while buckle and pendant (disagreeing with them) harmonize with each other in being circular. In some instances the tag merely bordered the end of the strap; as is shown on the brass of De Bacon, 1320, in Gorleston Church, Suffolk, where it borders a beautifully studded belt. On that of Fitzralph also, in Pebmarsh Church, Essex, it borders a belt that is both barred and studded.

Anne, wife of Hugh Willoughby of Risley, Wilne Church, 1514.

The tag on the belt of Anne, wife of Hugh Willoughby of Risley, 1514, in Wilne Church, is of the same width as the belt, and exhibits a row of five circular perforations, with a knob at the extremity.

The following may be mentioned as instances of the more elaborate kind of decoration on tags or pendants:—In the Special Exhibition of Works of Art at the South Kensington Museum, 1862, were two terminations of belts of the thirteenth century, both the property of John Webb, Esq. One represents the Annunciation in high relief, under a canopy, and another the Adoration of the Magi.*

In some instances the pendant was made very large; so large that it could with difficulty be passed through the

* Catalogue, p. 13.

buckle. An example of this is found on a Flemish brass of a knight and lady of the Compton family, 1510, taken from Netley Abbey Church. A very large one is also found on a plain brass in St. Stephen's Church, Norwich; but as the buckle appears to be about four inches long, the pendant might have been passed through by inclining it sideways. In the painted window in Middleton Church, Lancashire, the archers of the neighbourhood are represented as returning thanks for their victory and safe return from Flodden.* The priest who kneels in front ("Henricus Taylyer, Capellanus,") has a belt with a brass pendant, which narrows towards the point, somewhat like figs. 5, 9, 10, Plate XI.

In the modern representations of the Garter the pendant is invariably floreated, and projects beyond the sides of the strap; so that it would be quite impossible for it to pass through the buckle along with which it is represented. This is because painters and engravers do not know the use of the pendant, or do not think of the subject at all.† At the period when the article was actually worn, whenever the pendant was decorated so as to project beyond the strap, the buckle was made wider in like manner. This may be seen in the garter of Lord Camoys, in Trotton Church, Essex, and still more clearly in that of Sir Thomas Bullen, father-in-law to King Henry VIII., at Hever, Kent. There is a representation of the garter in the British Museum, which is understood to belong to the fourteenth century. The garter itself is nearly half an inch broad, and the circuit of it more than three and a half inches in diameter.‡ In this example the converse of the modern practice is found; the tag or pendant being

* There is an engraving in James's Iter Lancastrense, frontispiece; but I possess a more accurate drawing, presented to me by Mr. French of Bolton.

† One draughtsman assured me that though he had drawn the Royal Arms many hundreds of times, he never had an idea of what was meant by the ornament at the end of the garter.

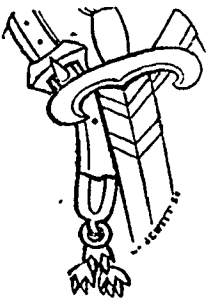
‡ It is engraved, Archæologia, XXXI. p. 141.

Garter, showing Pendant, Fourteenth Century.

of the same breadth as the strap, but the buckle considerably wider.*

On the brass of Roger Bothe, in Sawley Church, Derbyshire, there are metal tassels attached to the pendant; but, as one can move over the other, they do not occupy any additional space in passing through the buckle. And in some

* "There can be no doubt that this belonged to the fourteenth century; and the kneeling figure appears to be intended for the Black Prince, because the label in his arms is of three points, and is not charged. He is evidently adoring the Trinity (though the Dove is not introduced), and the Father seems to be seated on a rainbow, with his feet on the terraqueous globe. Behind him is an angel, who holds his helmet and crest; and above him is a shield of the arms of France and England quarterly, with a plain label of three points, which is held by another angel. He is in armour, and wears a surcoat of the same arms."—*Archæologia*, vol. XXXI. p. 140.



Roger Bothe, Sawley Church, 1467.

From Muggington, Derby.

cases the pendant has been so large that it never could pass through the buckle, so that the belt must have been thrown over the head. In Strutt's *Dress and Habits*,* there is a lady of the fifteenth century whose belt answers this description. On one of the straps of Richard Kniveton, at Muggington, is a buckle much wider than the strap to which it is attached; it is also open at the spot where the point of the *acus* falls. There can be little doubt that either the inserted strap was broader than the existing one, or that the pendant to be passed through was unusually large.† At Harnham Hill, Salisbury, a strap-tag, found with a skeleton, resembles in shape the blade of a lancet.‡

Pendants are not only figured on ancient monumental effigies, they are preserved still in the museums of the curious, and are turned up from time to time in the graves of persons interred within the last thousand years. A large number, and of very varied character, were brought to light in the Anglo-Saxon graves in Kent; they are figured and described by Mr. Smith, in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, and preserved by Mr. Mayer in his interesting museum at Liverpool. In the collection of Mr. Smith himself, which passed over to the possession of the nation, there were many; and a few examples exist throughout the country of ancient belts preserved to our own times, the attachments, studs or plates, and pendants, still remaining.§ Such decorative terminations are common in

* Vol. II. Plate cxix.

† I have never seen the whole figure, and therefore speak from representations of parts of the straps only.

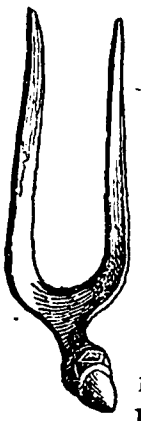
‡ Archæol., XXXV. 278.

§ There is a lady's girdle, five feet long, of about the date 1460, in the possession of Octavius Morgan, Esq. It is thus described:—"A lady's girdle or baldric, of crimson and gold brocade velvet, with rosettes of gold-

Switzerland and Savoy as relics of the past,* and one was found in the grave of a young Frankish warrior at Envermeu, in the Lower Seine, in 1856.

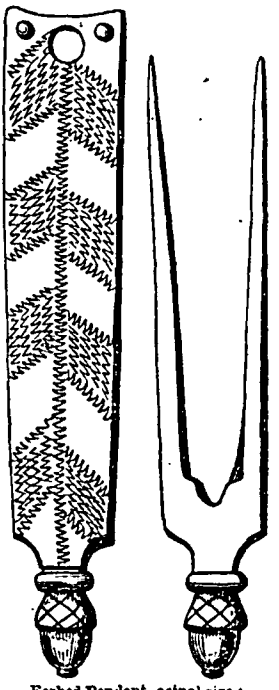
Sometimes they assume peculiar shapes, or are found in peculiar positions. For example, the beautiful metallic pendant on the belt of Sir Oliver De Ingham,† appears to be attached to cloth rather than to leather; and the representation of a king and queen in the eleventh century, shows that each of them has a couple of sabretache-looking tassels appended to the extremities of cords in the dress.

In the collection of Mr. Mayer are one or two objects which were at first mistaken for domestic forks. Each is about three inches long; and from an acorn-shaped head project two prongs, diverging slightly towards their points.



From Gilton-town.

Several of these were found by Fausset, of which one from Gilton-town is shown, but he did not understand their use. One from the valuable collection of Mr. Roach Smith, shows that they served the purpose of tags or pendants; and thus harmonized with the buckles having divided shanks or attachments, as in Plate VII., figs. 7, 9. The fork was inserted in a metallic sheath or case, from which, owing to its form, it could not be extracted,



Forked Pendant, actual size; found in London.

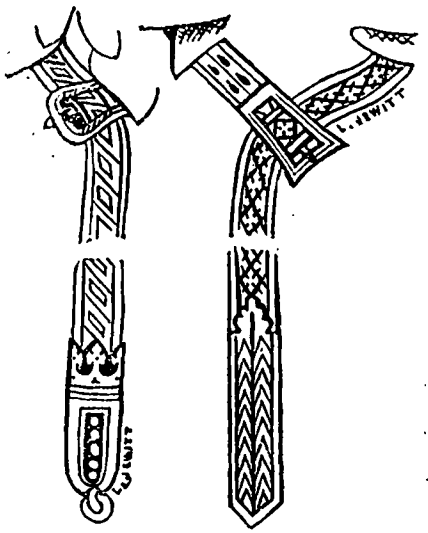
smith's work enriched with enamel. The buckle and the pendant of silver gilt, chased with foliage in relief, and inlaid with niello-plaques and with armorial bearings, the escutcheon on the pendant being that of the family Malatesta of Rimini and Cresena."—*Catalogue of the Special Exhibition at South Kensington*, p. 65.

* Archæologia, XXXVII. 105.

† Meyrick, vol. II. Pl. xxxiii.

unless the two plates of the sheath were separated by being broken. Mr. Smith's object is given here, both with and without its metallic casing.

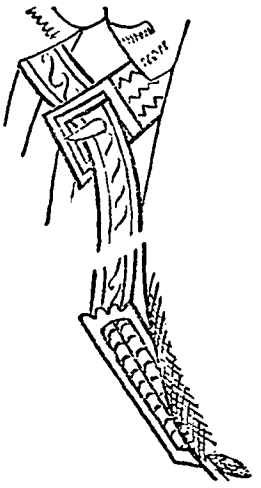
In the dresses of ladies, the pendant sometimes became of large dimensions, and of great beauty of form, though it did not always harmonize with the ornamentation of the belt and buckle. Thus, the belt of Anne Babington seems to be of two different patterns on its opposite sides, and the tag and buckle not harmonizing; while on that from the Curzon Brass, the buckle and tag are again of different designs.



Curzon Brass, Kedleston Church.

Anne, daughter of John Babington, wife of Richard Rollestone, of Lea, Ashover Church, 1607.

No doubt, variety was thought to contribute to beauty and magnificence. In the figure from Kedleston Church, the tag appears to be perforated. It will be observed that both these examples illustrate a practice which was at one time common, and which has been noticed under *Buckles;* viz., that of passing the girdle over the *acus* or tongue of the long buckle, and under the edges. It was thus woven between the three bars of metal, and lay approximately in the same plane by the sides, not by the ends. In an example from Hathersage Church, the girdle is not so interweaved, and the buckle and pendant do not harmonize. The belt is inserted laterally, and perforated by the *acus.* Two other interesting examples of the custom are given elsewhere, both from Wirksworth church, but neither of them calling for any special remark. In Mr. Roach Smith's collection there were numerous tags attached to straps.



Wife of Robt. Fyre, Hathersage Church, 1656.

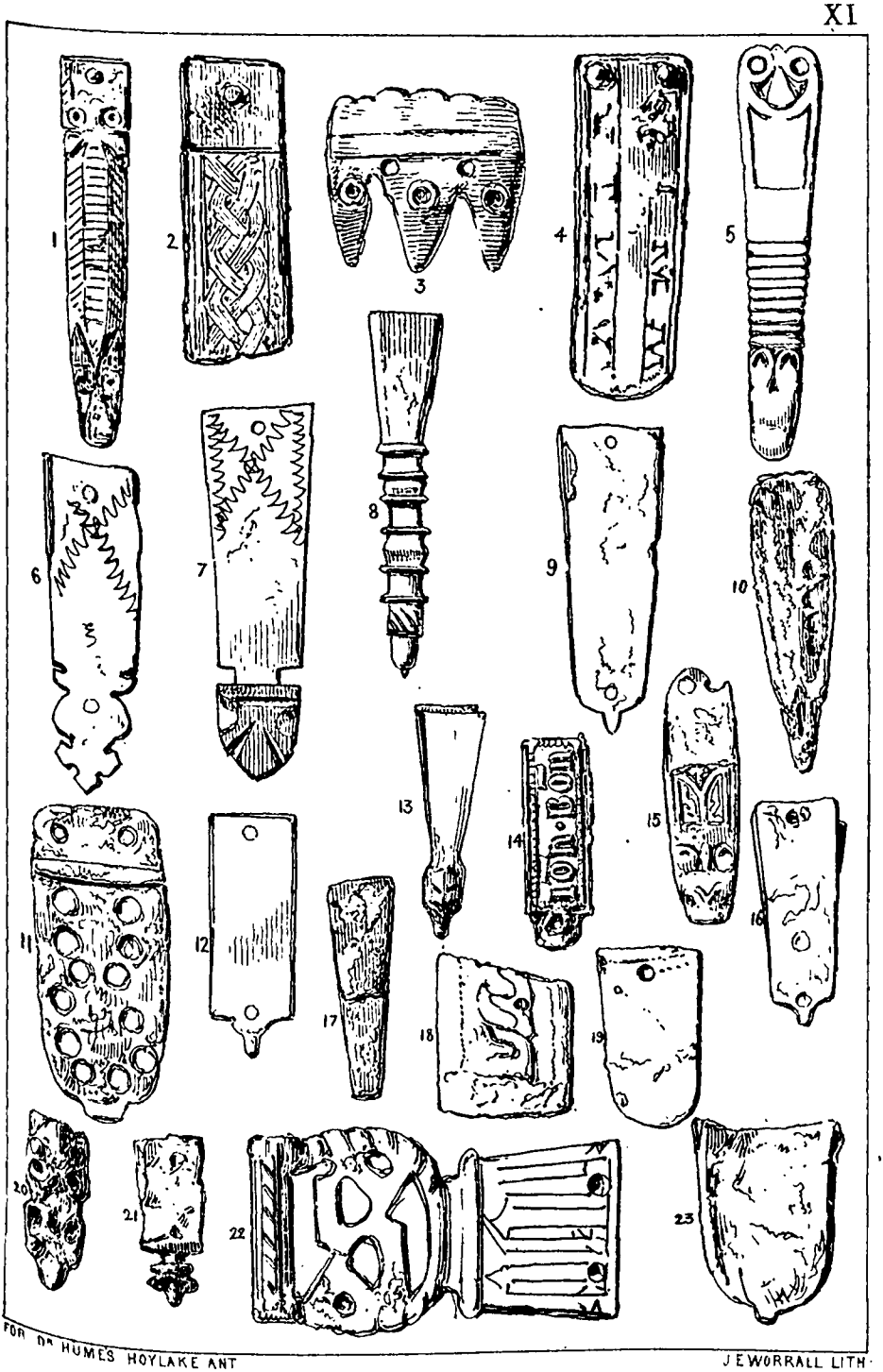
The objects of this class in the collection are about 121; viz., 108 of brass or bronze, and 13 of lead. Mr. Smith possesses thirty of these, Mr. Mayer thirty-nine, and fifty-two are my own. Of the twenty-three objects engraved, seven are my own; viz., 2, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, and 19; three are Mr. Smith's, 8, 22, and 23; one, 3, is Mrs. Longueville's, and the remaining twelve are Mr. Mayer's.

Plate XI. exhibits more than twenty examples of pendants, nearly all of bronze or brass. Three only, figs. 14, 21, and 23, are of lead. Figs. 1 and 5 correspond generally in size and shape, but they differ in the style of their ornamentation. Each has a sort of rude head at the top, the rivet-holes forming the eyes; and a lower end like a fish's mouth. The former is old. Fig. 2 contains a plain square at one end, and the remainder of it, between two bordering lines, is decorated with fretwork, like the pattern* so often seen on ancient monuments. It is Saxon.† Fig. 3 appears to have been attached with two studs, the points being upward; and 4, which exhibits signs of having been lettered, is divided into three nearly equal spaces by parallel lines down the centre.

The five in the next row all become narrower towards the

* It has been ingeniously suggested by Mr. French of Bolton, that many of the early crosses in Britain were made of wicker-work, no doubt filled with sand, or some such substance, to give them solidity; and he has had several beautiful ones constructed in illustration of this theory. If the idea be correct, it supplies a reason for the interlaced patterns in imitation of basket-work, which we afterwards find on stone crosses; and the same style of ornamentation was applied to minute objects. In like manner, Sir James Hall, Bart., traced many of the forms of Gothic architecture to the imitations of wicker-work, of which the earliest Christian Churches in this country were constructed.

† A. W. F.



FOR Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT

J.E.WORRALL LITH.

TAGS, OR STRAP ENDS.

point, and no one appears to have had more than two rivets attaching it to the strap. Figs. 6 and 7 are intersected by wavy lines; but the former has a termination like a finial in architecture, while the latter is finished off by a very ugly head. Fig. 8 ends in an acorn-like extremity, with numerous parallel ridges above it, the whole being solid below the place where the strap was inserted. Figs. 9, 12, and 16, bear a general resemblance in form, and in the graceful terminating point; but 12 is less narrowed than the others, and the shoulders near the point are more rectangular. Each of them has been attached by two rivets. In fig. 9, part of the leather strap still remains, preserved for centuries by the antiseptic qualities of the turf bog in which it was imbedded. Mr. Roach Smith has figured a pendant in his "Antiquities of Richborough," of the general form of fig. 15, but a little larger. It is Saxon, and of bronze, and still contains the metallic rivet or stud which fastened the leather between its plates of metal. Fig. 15 also has been pronounced Saxon.*

Fig. 10 diminishes to the end, but otherwise calls for no remark; and 17 and 19 are plain, but of different forms. Fig. 13 exhibits the two plates of metal for the reception of the leather, and, at its lower extremity, has a rudely shaped head. Fig. 14, which is of lead, exhibits the name "ION BON̄;" and 23, which is also of lead, is of the usual type. Fig. 18 is a fragment, rectangular, with a pattern whose character cannot be ascertained.

Figs. 20 and 21 are both curious in form; the latter bearing some resemblance to fig. 7 in the distinctness of its head, and the angularity of the shoulders. But the most singular of all, in some respects, is fig. 11. Besides the two rivet-holes for attaching it to the strap, which are quite distinguishable from all the other perforations, it contains numerous other holes apparently without order. On examination,

* A. W. F.

these appear to be twelve in number, and arranged in regular rows of two each. The third and sixth pairs of holes are close together; the remaining four pairs are nearly equidistant. Most probably this was an actual fastening as well as a tag, and hooked on to a pair of points bearing some resemblance to the two prongs of a buckle. Fig. 22 is certainly the termination of a belt strap, but it appears to have formed one half of a hasp or clasp. It contains the letters IHC on the attachment or shank, and S in the open work. There is a massive tag of iron, which is not engraved, in the set belonging to myself. It is said to be Roman.

We find pendants alluded to by Walter de Biblesworth at the close of the thirteenth century. His English glosses are interlined with his ancient French; but, for the sake of convenience, they are here put in brackets, after the words which they are intended to explain.

> De la ceynture le pendaunt [the girdilis ende tipping],
> Passe par my le mordaunt [thout the bokell],
> Einsy doyt le hardiloun [the tungge],
> Passer par tru de subiloun [a bore of an alsene].*

In the "Expenses of the Wardrobe of Edward III.," mention is made of a very large number of buckles, and a corresponding number of pendants, with a smaller number of bars.†

xx
ccciiij. xij. *pendentes* arg^{i}.
xx
ccciiij. xij. *boucles* arg^{i}.
ccc barres arg^{i}.

The following also is from a schedule of a Wardrobe Account in the Tower, 1455 :—

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* Mayer's Vocab., p. 150.

† Archæolog., xxxi. 55; and in the same document, p. 35—
lxij *boucles* de arg^{i}.
lxij *pendauntes* de arg^{i}.
Also on p. 34—
clxviij *bouclis* p. garteriis, de arg deaur^{i}.
clxviij *pendants* p. eisd. gart. de arg^{i}.
lxij *boucles* arg^{i} deaur^{i}.
lxij *pendaunts* arg^{i} deaur^{i}.

It^m a wyre hatt garnysshed ye bordour serkyll, and a sterr of sylver gylt, lacking a point in ye sterre, w^t oute bocle and pendant, duly delyv'ed to John Curson, some time Squier for the Kinges body.

The leather tag or pendant on cloth was equivalent to the metallic one on leather; and hence we read in the *Shuttleworth Accounts*, 1584:—

Seaven yardes of garthwebe, and iij longe tages of lether, xiij^d. Also, j Zona cum thasso de cor̃.*

Of the same class as this last, indeed of the same class with pendants generally, were the aiglets, which, in Shakspeare's time, were known as "points." These were the metallic attachments to strings or laces with which the garments were "trussed" or "untrussed," that is, tied on or loosed; indeed, small pieces of metal in general were called aglets. They appear to have been cheap in 1554, for we read in the accounts of the Smiths' Company of Coventry†—

A gyrdell ij^d.; a dossen of poynts ij^d.

Aiglets are alluded to in 1349, some of which were of silver, attached to silk, but the majority were of copper. The term survives in Yorkshire and Cumberland as a provincial word,‡ and probably in other districts also. It originally denoted the point merely,§ though Pynson, quoted by Mr. Way, properly remarks that the term was sometimes applied to the whole lace. Hence, in all probability, the term "eilet-hole," or "oilet-hole," that is, the aglet hole or opening for the lace; though, from similarity of form, it has been derived from the French words for needle and a little eye.‖

* Ib., p. 30, 32.

† Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 125.

‡ Hunter's Hallamshire Glossary; Dickinson's Words and Phrases of Cumberland.

§ "Agglot, or an aglet to lace wyth alle, *acus, aculus.—Promptorium Parvulorum.* Ayglet of a lace or point, *fer.*"—*Palsgr.* "The tag of a lace or of the points formerly used in dress."—*Halliwell.* Sometimes it is "Yiglet, the metalled end of a boot-lace."—*Dickinson.*

‖ "Holes not larger than would be made by the puncture of a needle;(!) perhaps a corruption of the French word for needle."—*Hunter.* "*Œilet of œil*, F. an Eye."—*Bailey.*

{ lx agulettz de cupro * [here the *tags* only].
{ ccxvj aguylettz de cupro. †

{ ciiij.xx.xij aguletti de serico cum punctis arg^{t} ‡ [here the *laces*].
{ xxxij aguylettz cum punct de cupro.

iiij laquei de serico cum punctis arg^{t} § [here the term is avoided].

VII.—LEATHER ORNAMENTS.—PLATE XII.

THE metallic ornaments and attachments to leather were very numerous; at first for protection, then for ornament, afterwards for use,—and generally for ornament and use conjointly. At present we notice the smaller ornaments only; for the subject is a large one, and Bosses and Studs will be treated of separately.

1.—ROSETTES.

Besides the more formal bosses and studs, there were numerous other ornaments of metal attached to leather, which do not admit of the same ready classification. For example, the earlier illustrations frequently show us a metallic rosette at the crossing of two straps, even when the leather is not studded. The nature of this may be seen in Meyrick's Plates ix., x., xi., in which he represents respectively David Earl of Huntingdon, 1120; Alexander I. of Scotland, 1107; and Robert Fitzhugh, Earl of Chester, 1141. It is on the same principle that the belt of black silk, attached to the "Tutbury Horn," has a silver shield with arms at the junction of the belt.‖ But it was not at the junctions merely that such orna-

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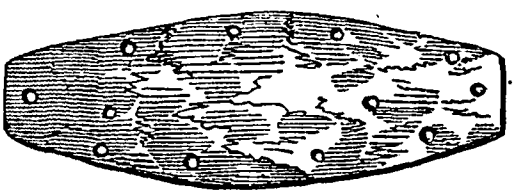
* Archæolog., XXXI., 39.
† Ib., p. 45.
‡ Ib., p. 55.
§ Ib., p. 22.
‖ Catalogue of the Special Exhibition at South Kensington, p. 18.

ments occurred; it was usual to have straps decorated throughout with rosettes, especially round the holes which the *acus* of the buckle penetrated. The sword-belt of Sir Robert de Septvans is ornamented with metallic rosettes; and they may be seen on the holes of the garter, given as an illustration under the head of Tags.

2.—Plates.

In the reign of Edward III., ornamentation with gold and silver, no doubt laid on in thin plates of various forms, was common; and in the time of Henry IV., as well as in that of his predecessor, it was necessary to prohibit the gorgeousness of apparel. Thus, in 1403, it was enacted "that no person should use . . . girdles . . . decorated with silver, nor any other trappings of silver, unless possessed of" a certain yearly income, or a certain amount of goods and chattels. In the reign of Edward II., it had been usual to lay on little plates of metal under the rivets of the girdle.* In one of the barrows of Denmark, which contained a man and horse, it was clear that the bridle had been covered with thin plates of silver;† and in several instances, like that of John Corpe, whose brass is in Stoke-Fleming Church, Devon, the belt appears to have been ornamented and strengthened by metallic plates. A few articles, which evidently served a purpose of this kind, were turned up among the Anglo-Saxon graves of Kent. One of them, which is shown here of the actual size, was found in the grave of a man, with a knife, an iron buckle, and a spear. It lay near the head; and had perhaps been a scale of his helmet, or a part of his shoul-

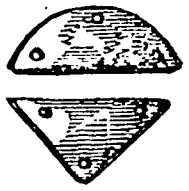


Brass Plate—Full Size.

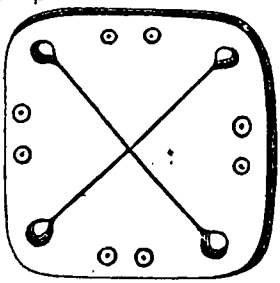
* Meyrick, I., 173.

† Worsaæ's Primev. Antiq., by Thoms, p. 18.

der-belt. The two little plates of brass, semicircular and triangular respectively, were found along with three buckles, one iron, one brass, and the third of both metals, and also with other pieces of metal which we know to have been employed as decorations for leather. Figs. 21 and 22, Plate XII., are of this class, though they served somewhat different purposes. The former has served as a strap ornament, and the latter as an attachment or shank of a buckle; but both were enamelled, both contain representations of animals, and both added to the splendour of the appearance. The former represents a dragon-like animal, with a trefoil tail, seeking what it may devour; the latter contains a fox apparently, in the attitude which heralds call *passant reguardant*. Fig. 21 represents an object of the thirteenth century.* In a woman's grave at Kingston Down, containing a large number of curious things, was found a square flat plate of ivory with a hole at each corner, which evidently served a purpose of this kind.



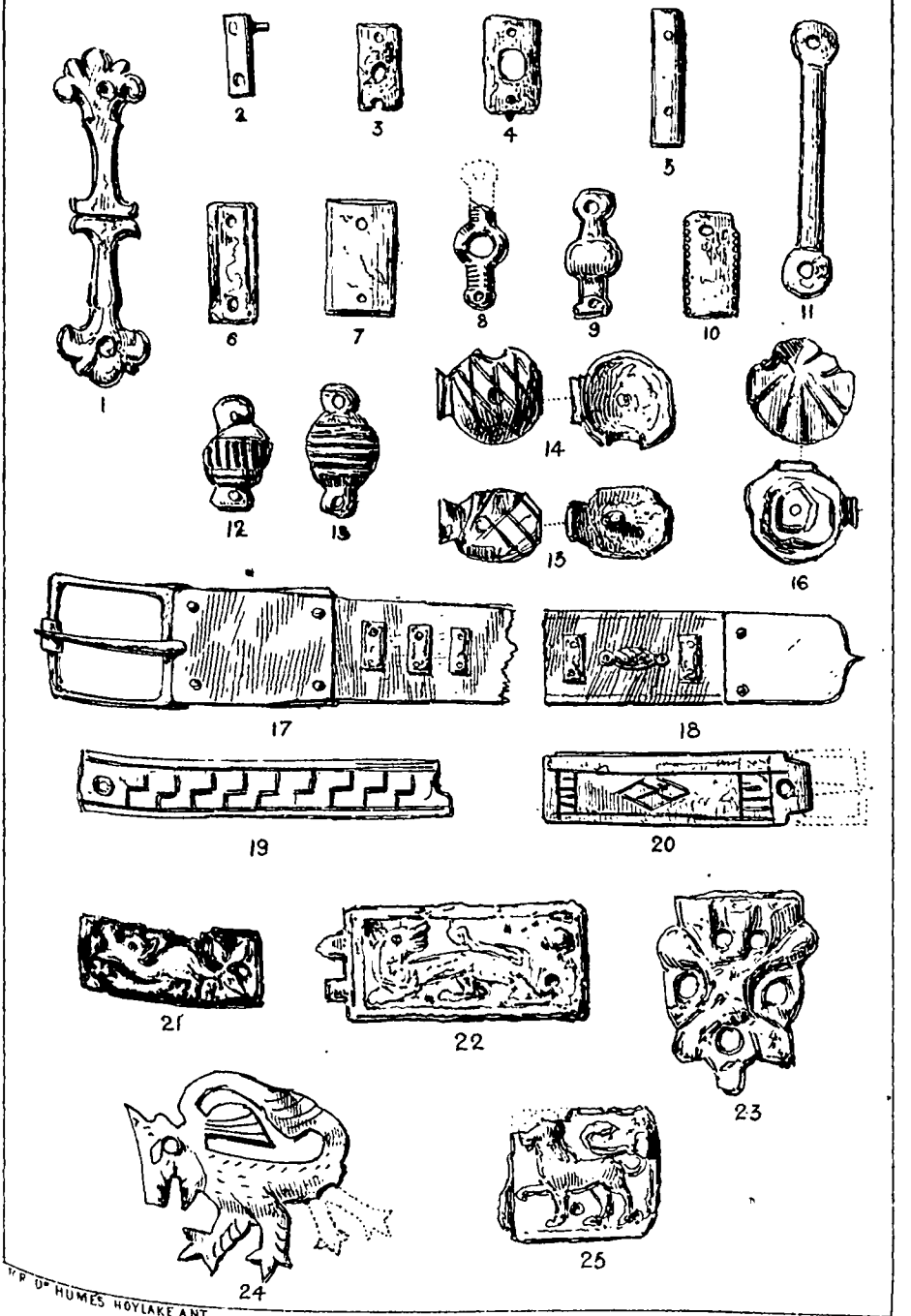
Small Plates for Leather.



Ivory Ornament.

Among the ancient Greeks, the *mitra* or brazen belt covered a vital part, and it was lined with leather and padded. Plates of it were occasionally a foot long or more; and at the end, a hook on one side locked into a ring on the other. One from the island of Eubœa, which is preserved at Paris, is given in *Smith's Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*, Art. ZONA. The ornamentation of belts with laminæ of the precious metals

* A. W. F



R. Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT
J. E. WOPRALL, LITH

STRAP ORNAMENTS.

became very prevalent at Rome during the early years of the empire; and such belts were not unfrequently given as military rewards. Flat portions of a curious bronze belt are engraved by M. Troyon, each of which has, among various figures chased on it, several dancing-men.*

3.—Bars.

In Skelton's "Ancient Armour," Plate xiv., under the date 1360, there is given "one of the ornaments which were put between two and three inches apart on sword and shield-belts; it is of brass, and was dug up in Oxford." It is two and a fourth inches long, narrowing from the middle to both ends. There is a hole for a rivet at each end; and an ornamental hole in the protuberance at the centre, where it is half an inch broad. It is evidently adapted for a broad strap, or one not less than two and a fourth inches in width. An object of a somewhat similar kind may be seen here, Plate XII., fig. 1, adapted for a strap of about the same width. This one also exhibits a rivet-hole at each extremity, but is there broad and floreated. Most probably fig. 11 represents a plainer object used for the same purpose. We see perfectly plain rectangular bars decorating the belt of Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289; and the sword-belt of Fitzralph, 1320, is ornamented with alternate lozenges and bars. There are numerous allusions to this practice in our literature:—

> Richesse a girdle had upon,
> The bokell of it was of ston;
> * * * * *
> The barres were of gold full fine,
> Upon a tissue of sattine,
> Full heavie, great, and nothing light,
> In everiche was a besaunt wight.†

It would appear from this that the besaunts were laid on, probably like the spangles recently in use, in the intervals of the bars; they were not inserted, as in the case of studs,

* Habitations Lacustres, Pl. xvii., fig. 35.

† Chaucer, "Romaunt of the Rose"

which were attached to the stronger material, leather. Chaucer also describes his Sergeant-of-law as follows:—

> Every statute coude he plaine by rote;
> He rode but homely in a medlee cote,
> Girt with a seint * of silk with barres smale;
> Of his array, tell I no lenger tale.

In the "Millere's Tale," the Wife of Bath is represented as girded in a somewhat similar manner—

> "A seint she wered, barred, all of silk."

The American Indians formerly, and indeed they still do so, made belts of the hollow bones of deer, birds, &c. These were strung and tied longitudinally round the body, each piece being two or three inches in length.† But the most curious belt with bars is that which was discovered on "the Skeleton in Armour," near the Fall River in Massachusetts, on the 26th of April, 1831. This consisted of numerous parallel tubes of brass, about four inches long, and about the thickness of an ordinary lead pencil, each of which surrounded a tube of reed. They were laid side by side, and fastened to two parallel thongs which passed round the body.‡ The facts are unusually interesting, as it is almost universally believed that the remains are those of one of the ante-Columbian discoverers of America, who perished there perhaps in the eleventh century. Berzelius has decided that the brass is of European manufacture, and it is not modern.

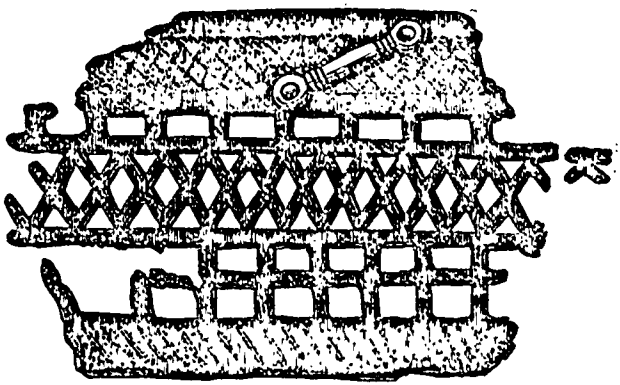
We learn also from John de Garlande, in the thirteenth century, that the *corigiarius* or "gurdeler," that is to say, the belt-maker, had zones which were not only *bene membratas* ("ystodyd"), but also *stipata argento*, or barred with silver. Indeed, the metal bars seem to have been purchased sometimes along with the buckles for straps; for we read, in connection with the history of the Order of the Garter, that on the

* Cincture or girdle.

† Schoolcraft, I., 104.

‡ Ib. I., 128, (quoting Gibbs's remarks;) Rafn's Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 6; Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord, (1840-44,) p. 104; Rafn's Remarks on the Letters of Webb and Smith, ib., p. 119; Longfellow's Poems.

13th of November, 1348, "thirty buckles, sixty mordants or tongues, and sixty bars, were bought and given by the Prince of Wales to Sir John Chandos, for his robes of the Prince's livery." * And again, "sixty buckles, sixty mordants, and six bars were bought and given to the Knights of his Society for the hastiludes at Windsor." † In the brass of Sir Robert de Bures, 1302, his sword-belt appears to have a rosette surrounding each hole for the tongue of the buckle, and between every two such holes an ornamental cross-bar.‡



Leather Belt, Stamped and Perforated—with Bar.

The annexed figure represents a portion of a belt, stamped and perforated; and attached to it is a small bar of brass, the exact use of which it is difficult to assign. Perhaps it was for the purpose of suspending some of the articles which hung from the girdle, as the purse, the rosary, the knife, or the dagger. This was found at Beakesbourne in 1773, and is here represented as of the actual size.§ A similar portion was

* xxx bokeles & lx mordants & lx barr' emp. eod. die p' dām dño Joh' i Chaundos p' rob. suis de. lib. dñi.

† lx bokeles & lx mordants & vi. barr' emp. eod. die dant. milit. de Soc' sua p' hastilud. de Wyndesor.—Archæolog., XXXI. 124, 160.

‡ Frontispiece to Boutell's Monumental Brasses.

§ "A piece very similar in pattern was found at Chartham, by Dr. Mortimer, who distinctly says it had been fastened with a buckle, which he describes and gives a drawing of. Mr. Faussett also indicates three other examples. The pattern is not unlike that of some of the Roman sandals found in London; and the mode of punching the leather appears to have been the same as was used in the

supposed to be a knife-sheath, as it was found doubled.*

4.—Small Sections.

In Strutt's "Popular Saxon Antiquities," we find a shoulder-strap uniting the back metallic plate with the breast-plate in front; no doubt for the joint purpose of ornament and security. It is covered with little bars of metal, each of which is nearly as long as the leather is broad;† and, if we turn to Meyrick and Skelton,‡ we find the same about the middle and end of the seventeenth century, namely, in 1645 and 1680. In both instances, the metallic pieces are continued only on that part of the strap which was not intended to lie beneath any portion of the armour. A large number of small pieces of metal exist in the present collection, which must obviously have served a similar purpose. One object of this kind was found at Beakesbourne in Kent, along with the circular and triangular plates of brass already shown. Most of the objects of this kind are like little sections of a split reed.

Small Ornament.

The small pieces of metal, figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10, are objects of this class, found sometimes with portions of leather adhering. In many instances, as in 2 and 4, the rivets still remain; and, from the uniformity of the objects, it is clear that they were used in sets. In the present instance, however, forms differing as widely as possible have been selected designedly. They are different in length, in breadth, and in ornamentation. Some, like fig. 4, may have reached across a narrow strap, while others may have decorated only its median line; some may have been placed close side by side, and others at intervals more or less wide. They are all convex above and concave below; and they appear to have been whole through-

ornamental work of the Roman sandals, and in the shoes of the middle ages.—See "Illustrated Catalogue of London Antiquities," Plates ix., xii., and xiii. *Note by Mr. Roach Smith, Inv. Sepul.*, p. 152.

* Invent. Sepul., p. 11.

† Vol. III., Plate xxi.

‡ Plate xli.—xliii.

out, such openings as those in 3 or 4 being attributable to wear and tear. Figs. 17 and 18 serve to indicate the mode of their use, and how objects like 12 and 13 might be applied. They also show how the pendant and buckle-shank—the latter often a separate plate—appeared when in use.

Four others appear to have served as similar ornaments, but they are slightly different in detail. These are, first, figs. 8 and 9, and, second, 12 and 13. The two former differ from the preceding only by being protuberant or boss-like in the middle. One of them contains a circular opening in this part, but that may have been caused by the protuberance wearing down, as in the case of bosses which ornamented the covers of books. In the other two, the protuberance occupies the whole length, except the spaces for the rivets, and is striated with parallel lines, which may be described as horizontal in the one case, and perpendicular in the other.

5.—Miscellaneous Ornaments.

[*a*] A curious style of ornamentation was that of inserting small shields at intervals, as on the sword-scabbard. This is apparent on the Trumpington brass, where there are four such shields, each containing the arms of the wearer; the lowest, or that nearest the chape of the scabbard, being the smallest. Several small shields, of the "heater-shape" as it is called, exist among these antiquities, one containing an armorial device; and they would all appear to have been used as a kind of special studs. In a brass at Trotton Church, Sussex, that of Margaret, Lady de Camoys, nine small shields of arms were attached to the front of the tunic, some of which have lately been abstracted.* Instances of their occurrence are rare in English monuments; but the four or five examples which exist, serve to show the former prevalence of a custom. Such shields were used in mediæval times by the retainers of the nobility.†

* Boutell's "Brasses," p. 81. | † C. R. S.

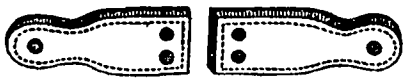
[*b*] The shell-like objects engraved here, figures 14, 15, and 16, appear to have been, like those shields, a compromise between the stud and the leather ornament generally. Each of them has been attached to the leather by one rivet, which in 16 still remains. It has still attached to it part of the leather, and the little metal washer outside of that, next to the end of the rivet. In the other two, though the form is shell-like, the ornamentation is by diagonal and intersecting lines.

Figures 17 and 18, represent the extremities of an imaginary strap. To the former the buckle is attached, and a thin plate of metal answering to the "shank" or "attachment;" but, as we have seen, in some cases it was separate, and merely a leather ornament. To the other end is affixed the tag or pendant, and both fragments exhibit the small cross-bar ornaments, with one like 13, attached suggestively intermediately and lengthwise.

[*c*] Figures 19 and 20 served the same general purpose. The former is probably a leather ornament only, broken off at one of its rivet-holes. It is impressed with a zig-zag or crank like pattern, which is one of very early occurrence.* Figure 20 may have been the shank of a buckle; but if so, it is of a peculiar form, and somewhat ill-adapted for the play of the tongue. Whatever special purpose it served, it was evidently attached to the end of a strap of leather.

Supposed Leather Ornament.

The precise use of the annexed object is not known, but in all probability it was a leather ornament like 19 or 20. Perhaps we may place beside this two small pieces of silver, which are supposed to have decorated the extremities of a girdle or band. There was both leather and linen adhering to the under part of them when they were discovered, and they were



Silver Plates.

* C. R. S.

attached by silver rivets. They were found at Chartham Down, in Kent.

[*d*] Fig. 25 contains a more graceful animal than that of 21 or 22, and probably the metal served only for a strap-ornament; it appears to have been one of a series of such ornaments. Fig. 24, stamped out of the metal, possesses the quality of not being the likeness of any known creature; but evidently it was designed to be suggestive. The eye-hole served for one rivet, the other was where the hinder legs are broken off. It is of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.*

Fig. 23 constitutes a class by itself. It may possibly have served the purpose of a pierced tag, like fig. 11, Plate XI., or it may have been merely a leather ornament of a somewhat rustic pattern. It has been placed here on the latter supposition. It is said to be semi-Celtic.

[*e*] The well-known brass of Sir John D'Abernon, 1277, has the guige or shield-strap ornamented with roses and fylfont crosses alternately; and that of Sir Robert de Septvans, 1306, has a beautifully decorated sword-belt and scabbard. In some instances the belt was jewelled, as in that of Keynes of Dodford,† *temp.* Henry VI. This was not unfrequently the case with ecclesiastics, though it is difficult to understand from illustrations when the mere orphrey‡ work or embroidery by the needle is meant, and when precious stones. In 1858, I observed on the stone effigies at Iona, that all such portions stood in high relief, shewing that they represented the setting of stones.

[*f*] The Princess Charlotte, daughter of our King George IV., had the headstall and reins of her palfrey decorated with cowrie shells. The back of each was rubbed flat, and the valves being upward, they were laid side by side in parallel rows across the strap. The bridle is still preserved in this neighbourhood.

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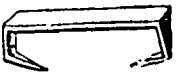
* C. R. S.

† Hudson's "Mon. Brasses of Northamptonshire."

‡ *Aurum Phrygianum.*

[*g*] The last illustration which I shall give, is a little piece of brass, which was useful as well as ornamental. It was the "keeper" of an Anglo-Saxon strap, equivalent to the little ring of leather which holds down the loose end of a modern strap, and which sometimes is fixed in position, at other times slides along. When found, it held a portion of the leather "in its bite." *



Keeper of Strap. Brass.

Of the small objects like split reeds, Mr. Mayer's collection contains 31 examples, Mr. Smith's 67, and my own 57; of those broad in the middle, like 8, 9, 12 or 13, Mr. Mayer's has 8, Mr. Smith's 9, and my own 2. Of the shell-like patterns the numbers are, Mr. Mayer's 4, Mr. Smith's 2, and my own 11, (one of which is lead;) and of miscellaneous ornaments, Mr. Mayer has 21, Mr. Smith 12, and myself 2. Of the little plates containing animals, all four are engraved. There are 8 little shields of the kind mentioned in paragraph [*a*], all of lead, and all in Mr. Mayer's collection.

The twenty-one objects engraved are all of brass. Of these, two belong to Mr. Smith, 1 and 22; five to Mr. Mayer, 11, 12, 23, 26, and 25; and fourteen to myself, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 19 and 21.

VIII.—BOSSES AND STUDS.—PLATE XIII.

1. *Form, &c.*—The terms boss and stud are frequently used as identical in meaning; but, when a distinction is made, the former is supposed to refer to objects somewhat larger in size. The examples given on Plate XIII. show how varied they were in form; *e. g.*, wheel-shaped, circular, cruciform, square; as well as plain, ornamented, flat, in relief, dotted, with open work, &c. In like manner, those which we find represented in ancient sculptures and paintings were no less varied in appearance. Thus, in a sculptured effigy in Bam-

* Inv. Sepul., p. 170.

berg Cathedral, 1370,* the girdle is ornamented with quatre-foil studs, and those of nearly the same form occur on the brass of Sir Thomas Cheyne, 1368.† Square studs are more common, as on the brass of Nicholas Lord Burnell, 1382;‡ and sometimes they are placed diagonally, or lozenge-wise, as on that of Lord Berkeley, 1417.§ Others again are round, as on the girdle of Sir Robert Swynborne, 1391; and each stud, as well as the large round clasp in front, bears the letter S. An unusual example is found on the brass of Sir Miles Stapelton, 1365, where the studs or metal plates on the belt are square or rectangular, while the fastening and pendant are circular.‖ In an example of the thirteenth century, the studs on the belt, as well as on the sword scabbard, are oval.¶

2. *Material.*—The material consisted of bronze, brass, iron, brass or other metal gilt, silver, and even gold. There is also allusion, in the Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, to a "stude of âmber." It is unnecessary to refer to the more common examples; but one of brass gilt, and bearing the arms of the Black Prince, is mentioned in Mr. Roach Smith's Catalogue of London Antiquities.** Piers Plowman also records that two priests "hath a girdle of silver, and a basilard [dagger] decorated with gilt studs." In the inventory of the goods of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, 1536, occurs this entry:—

Item, a littill Mule, with a harnes of black velwet, with studdes of gilt-wourke, and fote-clothe of velwet.††

Meyrick quotes‡‡ the following from Stephen de la Fontaine, 1352:—

For causing to be forged the furniture of a basinet, that is to say, thirty-five little loops, twelve little bosses for the forehead part, all of standard gold, ... and for causing to be forged the leather

* Hefner's Costume du Moyen Age Chrétien.

† At Drayton Beauchamp, Bucks; Boutell, p. 53.

‡ Ibid, 54.

§ Ibid, 57.

‖ In Ingham Church, Norfolk; Cotman.

¶ Strutt's Dress and Costume, Pl. lxv.

** P. 153.

†† Camden Miscel., Vol. III.

‡‡ Ancient Armour, Vol. II. p. 12.

strap for making fast the basinet, the nails of which are headed with bosses, and little crosses enamelled with the arms of France.

3. *How worn.*—There were particular portions of the equipment of both men and horses with which studs were specially connected. Thus, the belt, the bawdrick, the guige, and sword-scabbard of the knight, were often highly decorated; and the headstall and bridle-reins, as well as the breast and croupe-straps of the horse. Studs were also used for ornamenting the armour, and even the gloves.

No part of the dress was prepared with greater elegance and care than the belt. It was always conspicuous, it covered and protected a vital part, and it formed a basis for the attachment of small objects, such as the dagger. It was often so completely covered with metal, or metallic in its appearance, that it was said to be of brass, silver, or gold. We have reason to believe that, among the ancients, studded belts were not unknown. They are alluded to by Homer, and they are shown in Assyrian paintings and sculptures.* The *bulla*, which was so called from its resemblance to a bubble on the water, is alluded to in the "aurea bullis cingula," of Virgil.† Sometimes these studs were conical-headed, and projected like little bells; hence "bullis asper balteus." A Roman charioteer appears encircled with a succession of belts, one of which is studded.‡ And generally, on the representation of Scythian and Roman belts, we trace§ the existence of such objects. In the *Prophecy of Capys*‖ studded and gemmed belts are represented as forming part of a Roman triumph:—

> The helmets gay with plumage.
> Torn from the pheasants' wings,
> The belts set thick with starry gems
> That shone on Indian kings.

* Layard's Illustrations, 2nd series, Pl. v., vi., xx.

† Æn. ix., 359; xii., 942.

‡ Descripcion de un Pavimento, en Mosayco, &c., Madrid, fol. 1806.

§ Meyrick, Pl. xiii.

‖ Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome.

In the Hastings brass, Elsing Church, Norfolk, the sword-belt is beautifully studded.*

In the *Three Early English Metrical Romances*, edited by Dr. Robson, of Warrington, for the Camden Society, from a MS. in the possession of J. Ireland Blackburne, Esq., of Hale, the dress of a lady is thus described :—

> Hir gide that was glorious was of a gresse-greene ;
> Her belte was of blenket, with briddus full bold,
> Beten with besandus, bocult ful bene. †

In a dress of the fourteenth century, a belt has two rows of studs, like broad buttons, along its outer margins, ‡ while another is studded in the centre. § In the belt of a person of distinction of the fifteenth century, the studs occur in sets of three on the shoulder-belt, and the buttons in clusters of three down the front of the robe. ‖ A belt of the early part of this century was preserved in Mr. Roach Smith's collection, stamped in leather, with circlets containing the SS. of Henry IV., and ornamented also with metal bosses. It was supposed that girdles of this kind were manufactured at Cadiz. ¶ In the monumental slab of Johan Graaf *v.* Wertheim, 1407, the studs on the hip-belt are very prominent, and seem like large knobs of metal connected by intervening links. ** Mr. Planche †† gives an engraving of a lady from a manuscript in the Harleian collection. She wears a hip-belt, apparently studded, from which a gypciere or purse is pendent. Another example is given of a lady with a studded belt, in Strutt, Plate cxix.; and in Meyrick may be seen several belts covered with bosses or studs. John de Garlande, ‡‡ in the beginning of the thirteenth century, describes the girdle-

* Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting, and Cotman's Brasses.

† Her gown that was glorious was of a grass-green colour; her belt was of white stuff ornamented with birds; inlaid with besaunts (or round pieces of metal, like the coins of Byzantium), and appropriately buckled.

‡ Strutt's Dress and Habits, Pl. lxxvi.

§ Ib., Pl. lxxxv.

‖ Ib., Pl. cix.

¶ Fairholt's Costume, p. 508.

** Boutell, p. 193, from Hefner's Costume du Moyen Age Chrétien.

†† History of British Costume, p. 210.

‡‡ Mayer's Vocab., p. 123.

makers of his time as having before them girdles of white, black, and red, well studded and barred.

In Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*,* Clovis I., about 1100, is represented with a studded belt; and Richard I. of England is similarly represented in one of Meyrick's plates.† Sir Robert de Bures, 1302, in Acton Church, Suffolk, has a studded waist-belt. The belt of Edward II., on the screen of York Minster, is covered with small studs

Studded Belt on the Black Prince.

which touch each other;‡ and the effigy of Gunther, King of the Romans, executed 1349, exhibits, with other peculiarities,

* Shaw. Vol. I.
† Pl. xiii. in Vol. I.
‡ Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting, 1780, Vol. II.

that of an elegantly studded belt.* About the year 1440, King John is represented with a splendidly studded belt;† and both the sword-belt and hip-belt of Sir Humphrey Stafford, 1450, were similarly ornamented. In the Swetenham brass of the fifteenth century, the breast-plate is covered diagonally by a studded sword-belt;‡ and in that of Malony of Woodford there is a very curious studded sword-belt,‡ as well as studded armour. In the beautiful illustration of the Garter of the fourteenth century, already given under the head of "Tags or Strap-Ends," it will be observed that the baldrick or hip-belt of the Black Prince is studded, though the two studs in front appear to have dropped out. The same appearance is presented by the rainbow on which the Deity is sitting, in conformity with conventional usage. §

In the early part of the seventeenth century, the practice still continued; as Lord William Howard of Naworth was denominated "Belted Will."

> His Bilboa blade, by Marchmen felt,
> Hung in a broad and studded belt;
> Hence in rude phrase, the Borderers still
> Called noble Howard "Belted Will." ‖

In a poem of the close of the century, the hair of a youth is represented as falling down to his girdle-stud.

> Why should thy sweete love-locke hang dangling downe,
> Kissing thy girdle-stud with falling pride? ¶

In Barneck Church, Northamptonshire, one of several carved statues, *temp.* Henry VI., Henry VII., represents a person, apparently an ecclesiastic, with an elegantly studded belt.**

Studs on the guige, or on the shoulder-belt, may be seen on the D'Aubernon, Northwode, and various other brasses.

* Hefner, Costume du Moyen Age Chrétien.

† Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages, Vol. II.

‡ Hudson's Monumental Brasses of Northamptonshire.

§ The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool.—Isa. lxvi. 1. Acts vii. 49.

‖ Lay of the Last Minstrel, v. 16.

¶ Barnfield's Affectionate Shepherd, 1594.

** Carter, Vol. I.

They are also alluded to by Drayton in the *Polyolbion*, when describing Robin Hood and similar outlaws :—

Their bauldricks set with studs, athwart their shoulders cast,
To which, under their arms, their sheafs were buckled fast,
A short sword at their belt, a buckler scarce a span,
Who struck below the knee not counted then a man.

A few additional facts respecting studs, in human decorations, may be given as follows :—In the Pilgrim's signs of pewter, described by the Rev. Thomas Hugo, the decorations upon the episcopal dress of St. Thomas and others exhibit numerous studs,* and the following quotation from the description of the Horse Armoury, *temp.* Charles I.,† shows the frequency of their occurrence :—

One guilte, graven, and damasked armor of the Kinges, for the feild compleate, the whole armor laid with bosses of gould, 6 bosses only remaynyng on the coller, and all the rest either lost or taken from the coller and armor, in a chest.

In Meyrick and Skelton's Armour, Plate xvi., is represented the "jazerine" jacket, "which was coated over with red Genoa velvet, and ornamented with brass studs." In the Hastings brass at Elsing Church, Norfolk, the sword-belt is beautifully studded.‡ On the effigy of the Black Prince, in Canterbury Cathedral, there are studs in his gauntlets ;§ and when the fingers of the steel gloves were separated, each finger‖ was covered with studs.¶

The decorations of the horse furniture were usually in front, as on the headstall and reins ; but other parts of the equipment exhibited the same taste and tendency. Studded straps, in the equipment of horses, were in use among the Persians, as we see that in the beautiful and well-known Mosaic at Pompeii, the headstalls of the horses, on the side of Darius, being all set thick with studs. The *phaleræ* of the Latins were

* Archæolog. XXXVIII., 134.
† Ibid, XXXVII., 487.
‡ See Carter, Vol. I., and Cotman.
§ Labarte's Handbook, p. 363.
‖ Stothart, quoted by Fairholt.
¶ For further information on the subject of belts, see Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, XIV., p. 129.

well known; and both the word and its meaning had previously been in use among the Greeks. In several of the sculptures from Nineveh, studded harness appears on the horses;* and in one case the breeching seems to be of embossed leather, while the head straps are studded.† In another example the head-stall is studded, and the bridle reins are of rope.‡ The edition of the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer, edited by Mr. Wright for the Percy Society, has prefixed to it an engraving of the pilgrims on their journey to Canterbury, from an ancient illumination in the British Museum.§ The bridles and straps are all decorated with studs. In the Horse Armoury, *temp.* Charles I., the bridle was represented as studded with bosses, and white gilt nails, with which also the harness was set.‖

Upon another horse, one harnesse for the tilte, parcell guilte and graven, ... a breeche of steele, with a base of black velvett, and bridle with bosses.

Upon one other horse, one harnesse for the tilte and feild, parcell graven, and sett with white and guilte nayl.

In certain continental pictures, the bridles and horse-straps are all ornamented with studs;¶ and in a representation of Charles II. as St. George, there are studs on the horse's breast-belt, headstall, and bridle.** Francis I. of France is represented with gold studs in red velvet on the bridle of his horse.†† In the British Museum, there are numerous straps beautifully studded, from the collection formerly in the possession of Mr. Roach Smith; and, in the horse harness exhibited at the International Exhibition, there were modern specimens from Sweden and Finland. Dr. Charlton, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, possesses a head-stall from Telemarkin, in Norway, which is covered by small bead-like brass studs, some cruciform in

* Layard's Illustrations, Pl. xiv., xxvi.
† Ibid., Pl. xxviii.
‡ Ibid., Pl. xlvii., (second series.)
§ Reg. 18. D. ii.
‖ Archæolog., XXXVII., 486.
¶ Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich, 1847.
** Labarte, p. 46.
†† Shaw's Dresses, &c. Vol. II.

their arrangement and shape. The custom is said to have existed in the locality for at least two centuries.

There are occasional allusions in our older literature to some of the articles noticed, and their preparation. Thus, in the Account of the Expenses of John of Brabant, and Thomas and Henry of Lancaster, 1292-3,* mention is made of "three pair of studs or bosses for horse gear;" and in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. II., among the Roman remains at Mayence, are mentioned studs on the horse trappings.

4. *General Remarks.*—Studs were used, however, for many other purposes; for example, in ancient bookbinding. There were usually five large bosses or studs on the side which lay on the table; viz., four at the corners and one in the centre. In Scott's *Antiquarian Gleanings* † *in the North of England*, he mentions a curious Norman book-cover, in the library of Durham Cathedral, which is thus ornamented. But specimens are common.‡ He also mentions an aumbry in Carlisle Cathedral, of date about 1490, which had been covered with red velvet, with studs or small nails in the clasping iron-work.§ The hemispherical brass-headed nails which decorated the chairs in the parlours of our grandmothers, were a relic of this style of ornamentation; and, after an interval, it is re-appearing in the larger square brass studs which adorn modern upholstery. Studs are also reappearing in the belts of ladies, and in the decorations of the sides and extremities of gowns; thus affording an illustration of the principle, that fashion moves in limited cycles, and that it returns to types of natural elegance. Were it not for machinery superseding manual labour, the old occupation of "Bossettier," or boss-maker,‖ mentioned by our old lexicographers, might reappear.

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* Camden Miscell., II., 18.

† Pl. iv.

‡ Bosses or bullions, such as are set on the outsides of Bookes, *Umbelicus*.—Fleming's Dict., 1583.

§ Pl. xxxii.

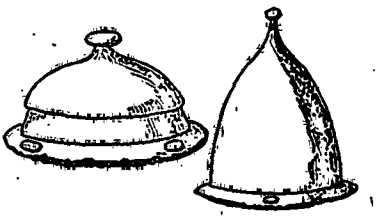
‖ "Bossettier, a bosse-maker, a stud-maker."—Cotgrave 1611. "A bosse-maker, bossetier."—Sherwood, 1650.

It was not unusual for studs to have loops behind,* so as to admit of their being fastened to leather or cloth; some had eyes like buttons,† and such are not unfrequently figured in archæological treatises. In the Anglo-Saxon graves at Stodmarsh, in Kent, two of this kind were found; and also in the Rev. Bryan Faussett's diggings, as shown in the plates of *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*‡ Occasionally studs were ornamented, as in a painting of Holbein in the Louvre. Each stud in the ornamented belt is a lion's head with a ring in its mouth, from which something is pendent.§

5. *Bosses and Studs on Shields.*—The earliest shields were made of wicker-work, covered with skin or thin metallic plates, and sometimes of two boards laid together. One is represented by Worsaæ of wood, covered with ornamental straps of iron attached by rivets.‖ The boss of a shield, or centre knob, was hollow,¶ as if intended for the hand; and in some instances it appears to have been hemispherical.** The shield of the Emperor Theodosius, copied from a gold medal,†† appears with studs round its margin, so that they must have been used for the purposes of strength and security in ancient times, as well as by people of primitive habits in modern. In some of the Assyrian shields, the boss or central stud is adorned with a lion's head;‡‡ and it would appear from Job's expression, "the thick bosses of his bucklers,"§§ that this part was not always hollow, but sometimes of increased thickness. At Brighthampton, Oxon, two iron studs were found on each side of the umbo of a shield in a grave; they appear to have fastened the handle to the original wood, which was of ash.‖‖ In similar diggings, as might have been expected, the remains of shields were found only in the graves of men.¶¶ The

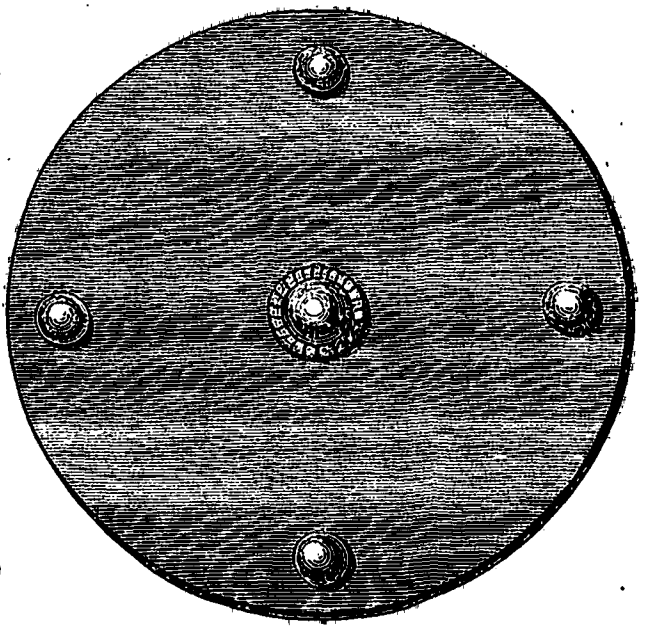
* Proceedings of the Arch. Institute, York, 1856.
† Ibid.
‡ Pl. xv., fig. 14.
§ Shaw, vol. II.
‖ Afbildninger, p. 125.
¶ Planche, p. 9.
** Inventorium Sep., Pl. xv., fig. 14.
†† "Descripcion de un Pavimento en Mosayco."
‡‡ Layard's Illustrations, Pl. xxvii.
§§ Job xv. 26.
‖‖ Archæol. XXXVII., 395.
¶¶ Ibid., XXXVIII., 331.

annexed examples show the forms which the umbo or boss of the shield sometimes assumed; here the one is rudely hemispherical, or rather like a dish-cover, and the other conical. The holes are visible on the border, by which each of them was attached to the wood; and several studs were found with heads an inch and a-half broad, by which they had been fastened to the wood.



Umboes of Shields.

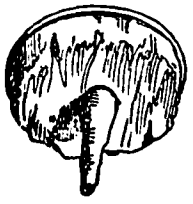
The appearance which the studs presented externally may be seen from the adjoining illustration. It represents a piece of brass six inches in diameter; and, though it is flat, it is supposed to have been placed in the centre of a shield, like an umbo. It contains five studs, the central one larger than the others, with an ornamented margin. Each of the studs had been riveted, and was about half an inch long; that is to



Central Plate of a Shield, Barfriston Down.

say, the wood for the shield, to which this plate of brass was attached, was half an inch thick. Some of the wood, in a rotten state, adhered to the points of the studs.

Other examples show the internal appearance of some of these studs, both when they came out clean, and when with wood attached; when whole, and when broken. The annexed stud is one of three, iron, and with a convex head nearly two inches broad. The wood appears to have been half an inch thick as usual, and a portion of it adheres to the "strig" or nail part. Along with this and two others of the same kind, were found four smaller ones with flat heads, which, from their position, no doubt served to unite the umbo to the wood, so that the larger ones may have served to strengthen and decorate the wooden margin. The smaller ones were also of iron.

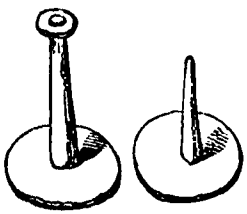


Iron Stud with wood adhering, Kent.

The studs were sometimes of brass, as two of that material were also found in the graves of Kent, with part of the broken wood adhering. One had been injured in detaching it, and lost a portion of its *acus* or "strig" or nail; but the other remained complete, with a little plate of metal at its point. Its length was seven-eighths of an inch.

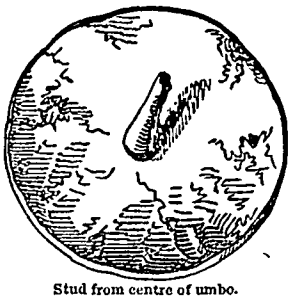
Flat-headed iron stud.

In one case the handle of the shield was found, and it may be interesting to see it, though it does not strictly belong to our present subject. It was of iron, very plain, about five inches long, and half an inch broad, and it bears a remarkably close resemblance in form to the plain strap ornament shown, Plate XII. fig. 11. Sometimes a large stud was inserted in the centre of the umbo, as at the top of the cone, or in the peak of the hemisphere, given in the first of these illustrations. The broad



Brass Studs, Kingston Down.

Iron Shield-handle.


Stud from centre of umbo.

stud shown here is one of this kind turned up at Gilton-town.

A studded shield of the eighth century is given by Strutt.* In the fourteenth century the English archers had small round shields, as may be seen by the quotation from Drayton already given. About the period of Henry VIII., the shields of the London apprentices were in like manner constructed of wood, covered with leather, and strengthened by large studs and nails. The shields and targes of the Scotch Highlanders were of a similar kind, one of which is figured by Meyrick, of the sixteenth century.† In a picture from an illuminated MS. in the British Museum, as well as in that just noticed, the Canterbury Pilgrims, the shield is represented as being full of studs; ‡ and most readers are familiar with Sir Walter Scott's allusion to the Highlanders who bore such shields.

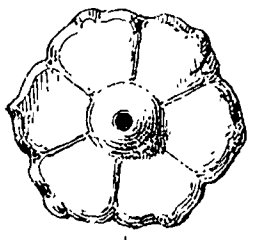
> The graceful bonnet decked their head,
> Back from their shoulders hung the plaid,
> A broadsword of unwieldy length,
> A dagger proved for edge and strength,
> A studded targe they wore. §

Those who were accustomed to fight by receiving the stroke upon the buckler, did not understand the modern practice of parrying by means of the blade itself; and thus, when without the shield, exposed too much of their person.

> Ill fared it then with Roderick Dhu,
> That on the ground his targe he threw,
> Whose brazen studs and tough bull-hide
> Had death so often dashed aside. ||

In his notes to the poem Sir Walter Scott says of it, "a round target of light wood, covered with strong leather, and

* Dress and Costume, Pl. xiii., p. 26.
† Meyrick, Plate lx.
‡ Journal of the Archæol. Association, II., 407.
§ Marmion, v. 5.
|| Scott, Lady of the Lake, v. 15.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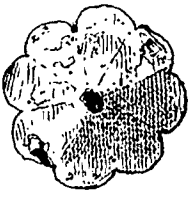
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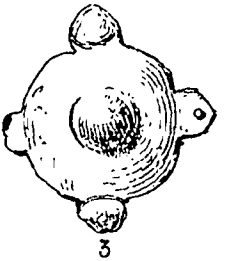
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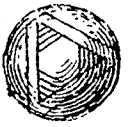
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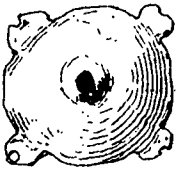
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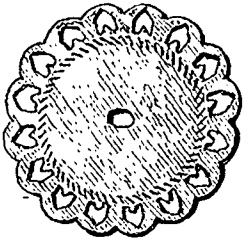
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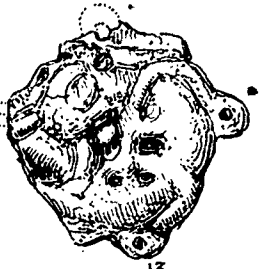
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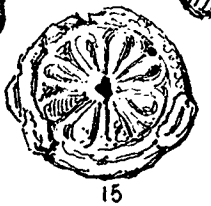
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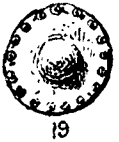
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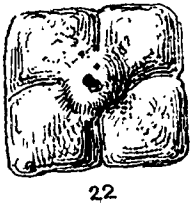
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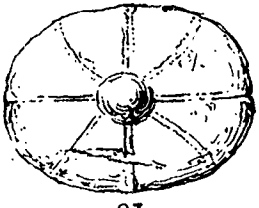
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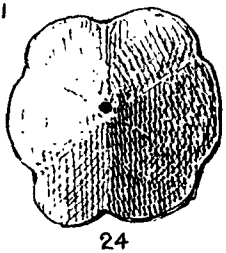
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FOR Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT

J E WORRALL LITH

BOSSES & STUDS.

studded with brass or iron, was a necessary part of a Highlander's equipment. In charging regular troops he received the thrust of the bayonet in this buckler, twisted it aside, and used the broadsword against the encumbered soldier." The studded buckler was formerly much in use among the London apprentices, and it was used by the front rank of the clans in 1745. It appears to have been employed in Flanders by the 42nd regiment in 1747,* but generally it was disused after 1745.

The bosses and studs in this collection are 124 in number; viz., 1 silver, 83 brass, and 40 lead. Of these again, 56 are in Mr. Smith's possession, 42 in Mr. Mayer's, and 26 in my own. A peculiar stud is engraved among the miscellaneous objects in metal, Plate XXIX., fig. 6. Apparently there has been a ring with ornamental cross ridges; and at one part of the circumference there is a metallic rosette laid on, beneath which is an eye like that of a large button, to pass through the metal or leather or cloth, and be caught. Perhaps the circle was always incomplete as we see it, and the object may have been used for decorating the cap of an Elizabethan soldier. It is of brass.

Of the 23 which are engraved (there is no fig. 12) fig. 8 is silver, and figs. 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, lead. All the others are brass. Four are from Mr. Smith's collection, 4, 18, 20, 23; five from my own, 3, 7, 8, 9, 16; and all the rest from Mr. Mayer's. Fig. 17 is Romano-British,† and is supposed to be part of a curved fibula,‡ like figs. 8 and 10, Plate III. It contains some remains of enamel in four yellow points.

IX.—SPINDLE WHORLS.—Plate XIV.

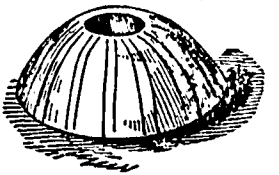
1. *General Remarks.* When the distaff was in use, as it is still on the continent, and before the introduction of the spinning-wheel, (which has already become an object of

* Grose's Military Antiquities, I., 164. *Quo.* Scott.

† A. W. F.

‡ C. R. S.

antiquity,) the spindle and its whorl or whirl* were common domestic implements. When there was no whirl on the spindle, so that the roll of yarn could be drawn from off it, it was called a slipper-spindle.† But what is called the "wharrow-spindle," or whorle-spindle, is thus described :‡—



From Beakesbourne.

"This differeth from those preceding in respect of the crook above, and of the wharrow imposed on the lower part thereof. This sort of spindles women do use most commonly to spin withal, not at the torn (large wheel) as the former, but at a distaff put under their girdle, so as they often spin therewith going.§ The round ball at the lower end serveth to the fast twisting of the thread, and is called a wharrow."

In *Munster's Cosmographia*, pp. 557 and 581, there is a curious woodcut, representing an old man and woman spinning with the distaff in the open air, while a child is rolling the thread on a primitive reel. The whorl is distinctly shown on both spindles. In Retzch's illustrations to *Schiller's Lay of the Bell*, the time of which is assumed to be mediæval, the whorl is attached to the spindle, and the distaff is fixed in a stool. In Mr. Roach Smith's collection of London antiquities,‖ there were several of these implements, one of which was found attached to the spindle. In the *Shuttleworth Accounts*, at November, 1569, it is mentioned that in buying some "Ieries" [Irish] "yarne," he pays for "spindles and wherls, ij^{d}."

A Roman spindle-whorl was discovered at Caerwent,¶ consisting of a disc of red ware, and in the Anglo-Saxon graves

* The terms whorl and whirl are used indiscriminately, both of which differ considerably in form from Gwillim's term. It may be interesting to know the forms in which it appeared in old writings. In an Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of the eleventh century, the corresponding Latin and Saxon words are "verberaturum *thwiril*," *Mayer's Vocabularies*, 290; and in the Pictorial Vocabulary of the fifteenth century, it is "hoc vertebrum, Angl. a *aworowylle*," Ibid., 269.

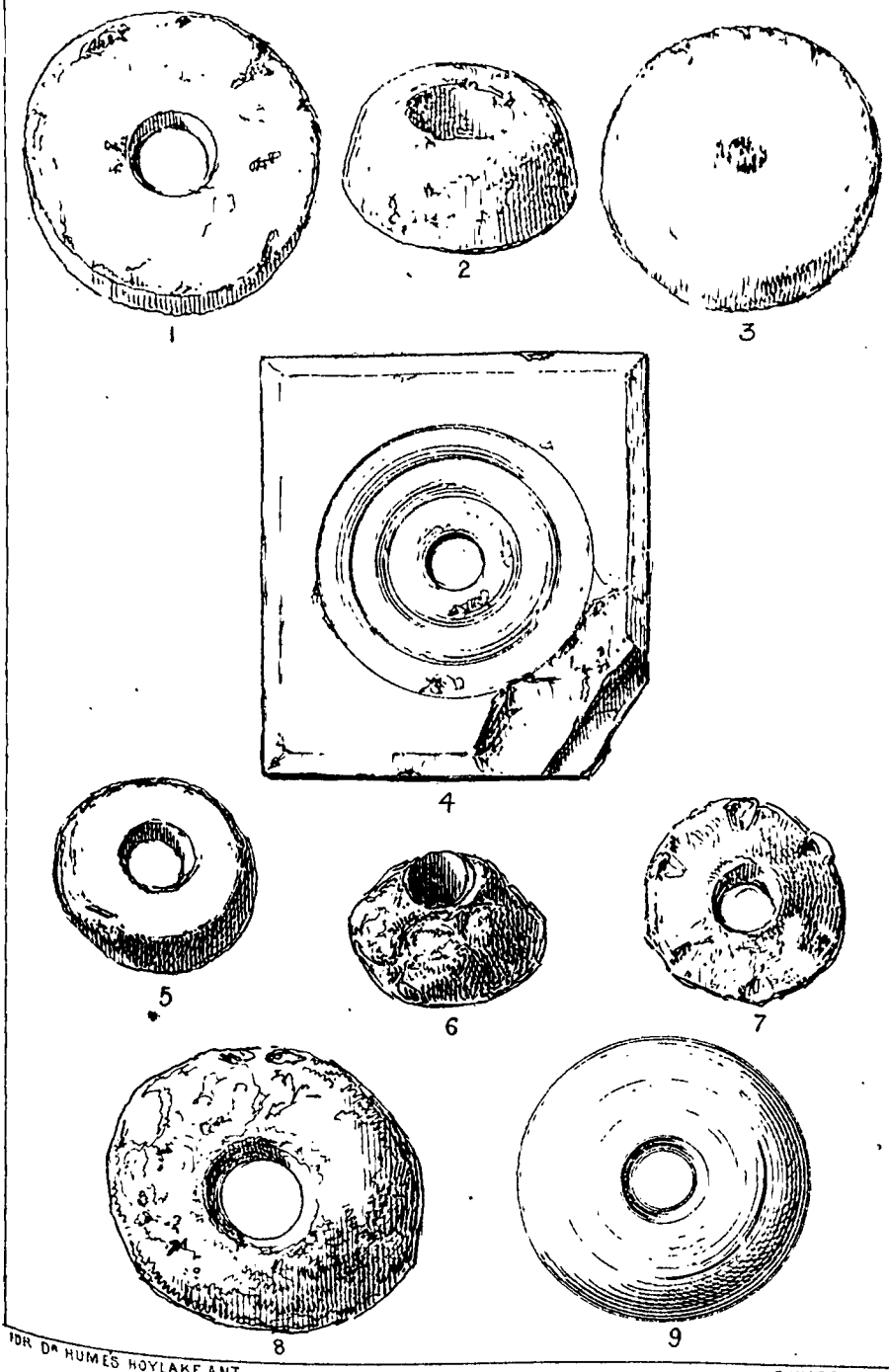
† Gwillim's Book of Heraldry, p. 299.

‡ Ibid., p. 300.

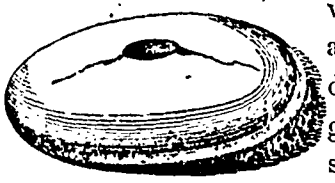
§ That is, while moving about.

‖ Catalogue of London Antiq. p. 70.

¶ Archæol., XXXVI., 430.

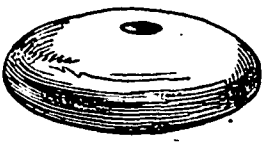


SPINDLE WHORLS.



Earthenware, slightly damaged.

very many have been found. One at Long Wittenham in Berks,* of dark green glass, was in a woman's grave; and another† is not described. A third, like one found at Brighthampton,‡ consisted of crystal,§ cut in facets. In the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, several beautiful examples are engraved, most of them consisting of bone and clay. They appear to have been frequently made of stone, as the German name is *Spindelstein*.



Spindelstein, clay.

Numerous examples, of bone, are preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, some large and some small. There is also a bone spindle; and in one case a bone whorl on a bone spindle. In general, they are formed from the hard bones of quadrupeds.‖ The stone ones are known in Ireland by the popular name of "fairy mill-stones."

In the process of spinning, the thread was inserted in a slit at the top or side of the spindle, so as to keep the old part firm in its position, while the new portion was being twisted. It was then released from the slit, an additional portion was wound on the spindle, the thread was inserted as before, and a new portion was spun. Sometimes there were holes for the thread in the whorl, as has been shown by Lord Braybrooke; and indications of a similar kind appear in several of the objects here.

The distaff and spindle are frequently alluded to in literature, both ancient and modern; and they were symbolical of female offices and duties. From the beautiful description of the virtuous woman in the Book of Proverbs,¶ we see that the distaff and spindle were currently used in the domestic opera-

* Archæol., XXXVIII., p. 340.
† Ibid., p. 344.
‡ Ibid., p. 86, 97.
§ Ibid., p. 335.
‖ Wilde's Catalogue, pp. 116, 253, 274, 349.

¶ "She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands." . . . "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff."—Prov. xxxi. 13, 19.

tions of the Hebrews; and they were known, as we are well aware, in Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Among the remains of ancient Mexico is a spindle and whorl; the latter hemispherical, with its flat side downwards. It appears to be of terra-cotta,* with ornaments between two parallel circles. Among the paintings illustrative of the ancient Aztecs, there are four which represent a mother teaching her daughter to spin. The girl at first refuses, she is then encouraged by rewards of sweet cakes, and finally she is punished. The spindle is used without the distaff.† At the time of the discovery of America, one of the curious objects which the Mexican goldsmiths had fabricated with rude tools, was an ape with jointed hands and feet, holding a spindle.‡ The Indians of Puebla generally twirl the spindle in a saucer, a piece of gourd or of pottery, or any hollow object.§ The flat surface of their whorl is uppermost, and the hemispherical part towards the point of the spindle.‖ Certain tribes in New Mexico not only spin in this way, but use the upright loom like that of ancient Iceland and the Faroe isles; the men also knit their own stockings,¶ like the men of Yspytty, in North Wales.

Schiller in his *Lay of the Bell*, representing the mediæval practices of his own country, which, however, still survive, thus speaks of the matron :**—

> She winds round the spindle the threads at her leisure,
> And fills odoriferous coffers with treasure,
> And storeth the shining receptacles full,
> Of snowy-white linen and pale-coloured wool;
> And blends with the useful, the beauteous and pleasing,
> And toils without ceasing.

* Schoolcraft, VI., Pl. xxxviii., fig. 3.

† Ib, IV., 441.

‡ Ib., IV., 442.

§ Those who know the American spinning-top, and who have seen how long it keeps up its rotation in a hollow of metal or pottery, will see the advantage of this arrangement. The improvement in the toy may have been suggested by this or some similar fact.

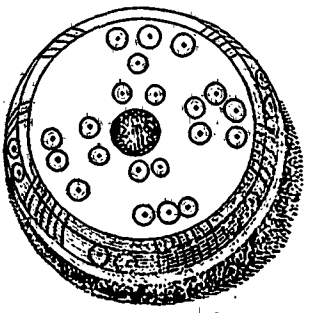
‖ Schoolcraft, IV., Pl. xxxvii., figs. 4, 5.

¶ Ib., IV., 76.

** Numerous other details are given in "Two Essays on Spinning and Weaving," in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Vol. V., by the present writer.

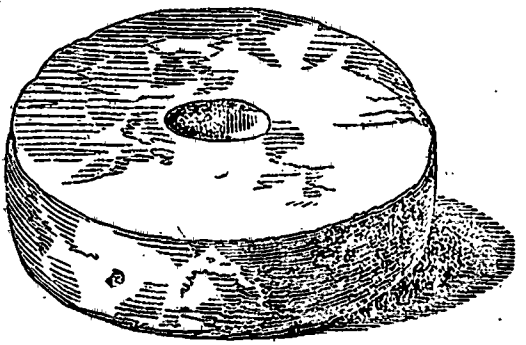
Among the remains of the *Habitations Lacustres* in Switzerland, numerous *spindelsteins* have been found.*

2. *Varieties.* Objects of this kind are frequently found in the ancient graves of all parts of England; and Mr. Faussett remarks that he found them only in the graves of women† and children. He calls them in many places little quoits, and each one a discus; but at length he suspects that he is in error, and approaches very near a correct explanation‡ of them. He found them, like our own, of various materials, ivory, lead, clay, &c.; but the great majority of them were of earthenware of some kind. Of the twelve objects shown in these woodcuts, seven represent earthenware spindle whorls. They are also of various shapes; viz., cylindrical, plano-convex, or flat on one side and convex on the other; with two flat sides and a rounded edge, like the example in ivory, and of a shape partly conical. In the matter of ornamentation, they are decorated



Ivory—ornamented.

Lead—plain.



Large Cylindrical Whorl, Earthenware.

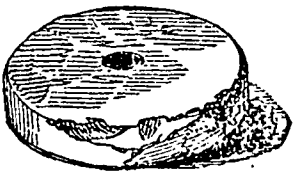
* Troyon, Pl. viii., figs. 8, 14; Pl. xii.; and pp. 127, 159, 466, 471.

† I never found any of them but in women's and children's graves, and chiefly in the latter; from whence I have been induced to believe that they were a kind of toy.—*Inv. Sepul.* p. 151.

‡ It has since occurred to me that this, and the many other things like this that I have found, (and mentioned in their several places,) may possibly have been formerly used and played with, as children among us play with button-molds, viz., by passing a piece of wood through their centre, and spinning them with their finger and thumb.—*Ib.*, p. 57.

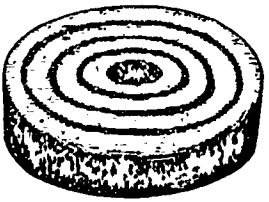
Ivory Spindles.

with checks, concentric circles, lines diverging from a centre, the old pattern of centre and circumference, &c. But in general they are plain, not requiring any ornamentation.



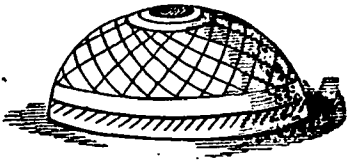
Small Cylindrical Whorl, Earthenware.

In a grave at Kingston Down, two of the spindles were discovered which Mr. Faussett somewhat quaintly called "ivory sticks;" but Mr. Akerman, who understood their true purpose, gave them their proper name of spindles.*

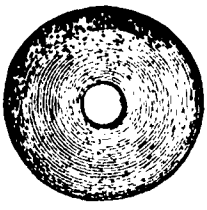


Cylindrical, with concentric circles; Earthenware.

3. *Objects in this Collection.* In this collection there are forty-four in all; viz., thirty-four of lead, seven of terra-cotta, and three of stone. Lead was therefore much the commonest material; but the objects made of it were less attractive in appearance than those of rarer material. Of these, twenty-two are the property of Mr. Smith, eighteen belong to Mr. Mayer, and four to myself. The nine which have been engraved will serve to show these distinctions sufficiently. Figs. 3 and 4 are of stone, the latter apparently of dark slate. Figs. 1, 2, 5, 8, and 9 are of terra-cotta; the last of which shows circular marks produced in moulding it. Figs. 6 and 7 are of lead. The first four are from Mr. Mayer's collection, the two leaden ones from Mr. Smith's, and the remaining examples (Figs 5, 8, 9) from my



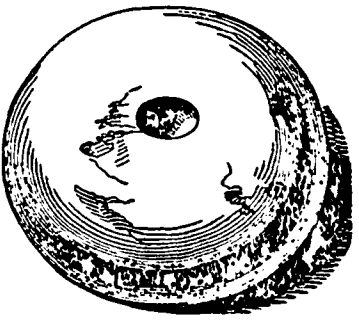
Hemispherical, checked; of baked clay.



Lead—Plano-convex.

* Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 93.

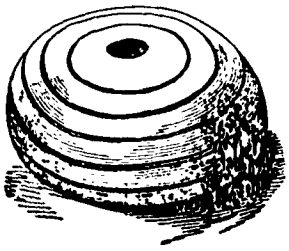
own. The objects 1—4 are Romano-British,* or Roman,† but it is difficult to assign any date to the others, the use of such objects having ranged over many centuries. But from the time when industrial arts began to be plied in the neighbourhood, to the time when the use of the spindle-whorl ceased, say from the fourth to the eighteenth century, all these objects must have been manufactured. These are wide major and minor limits; but it would be unsafe to bring them nearer. Possibly some of the objects were used occasionally for other purposes.



Bluish baked earth—Plano-convex.

X.—BEADS AND PENDANTS.—Plate XV.

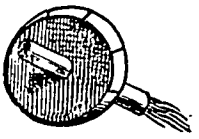
1. *Introduction.* At some period of its civilization, almost every nation has delighted in the use of beads. They are still common among the humbler classes in this country; and travellers know the avidity with which they are sought after by savage nations. The ancient Irish must have possessed them in large quantities, as they are still found, often at depths far below the soil disturbed by modern cultivation. Other members of the Celtic family also used them, for they are found in situations which the Roman and Saxon people did not reach. Very large amber beads were found at Titterstone-clee Hill, Salop, supposed to be Celtic beads which had formed part of a chaplet.‡ Roman beads have frequently been found, as recently of glass, at Uriconium.§ Some of



Large Bead, from a Kingston Tumulus.

* J. Y. A.
† A. W. F.
‡ Proceedings Soc. Ant., II. 186.
§ Wright's Guide to Uriconium, p. 86.

them are large, as if for single suspension, and others small, as if to be threaded on a string. Frequently they are manufactured of fine pottery. It is supposed that, in the Roman and more recent times, they formed a considerable article of commerce. Martyrs in the catacombs are found with strings of them round their necks; and the use of them appears to have been general.* Two female figures on an elegant Greek vase appear to have beads down the front of their dresses, and others round their necks; also, a string of beads has been found in an Etruscan tomb.† On the obelisk procured by Layard, the figures on the several sides which are bringing tribute, appear to have their dresses edged with beads.‡ The beads discovered with Anglo-Saxon remains are numerous, as we shall see. One is a large blue and white bead from Kingston Down, and is shown here; and, besides the complete or fractured ones, there is something which is called by Faussett a "skeleton of a bead." It is of brass; was found in a woman's grave at Sibertswold; and contains in its central tube some of the threads on which it had been strung.



"Skeleton of a Bead."

Blue and White Bead.

2. *Material and Shape.* Chaucer mentions that the Prioresse wore a pair of beads of coral; but he appears to mean bracelets of beads. Besides the materials mentioned, we have others of amber, and of yellow glass, apparently in imitation of it; as in those found among the antiquities from Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburg.§ Twelve of those discovered with the Frankish remains at Envermeu were of a hardened paste, covered with a yellow enamel in the form of eyes, and other patterns.‖ Two were of dark-green glass, encircled by bands

* Cochet: La Normandie Souterraine, 273.

† Journ. Arch. Assoc., XII. 6.

‡ Illustrations, &c., Pl. liii.—lvi.

§ Arch., XXXVI., 356.

‖ Ibid., XXXVII., 103.

of white enamel.* One discovered in the Kentish graves, with earthen and with red and white glass beads, was a long silver one; some of the threads with which it had been strung still remaining within it.† Those discovered with the mortuary urns at Stade, on the Elbe, were of glass. Among the great rarities and riches in the closet of Queen Mary, are enumerated "bracelets, caskanets, and laces; beads of gold, habilliments, girdles, furrs, buttons."‡ Among the antiquities of Mexico, are several strings of beads of solid gold.§ In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy is an encaustic porcelain pin bead, on a bronze pin;‖ also beads of bone about half an inch in diameter. Beads of bone and horn have been frequently procured from the Crannogues,¶ but they are seldom preserved. On a skeleton found in the barrows of Dorset, a cowrie shell perforated appeared to have been worn as a bead.** Beads are common among the American Indians,†† and an Ojibbewa belle appears to have several shoulder-straps, and other articles of dress, bordered with beads.‡‡ Beads made from human teeth ground down have been discovered; and pendants made from perforated bears' teeth are common.§§ An Indian warrior's baldrick or girdle, and his garters, are usually ornamented with small beads,‖‖ and fringed at the ends. In an ancient copper mine, which had been worked before the time of Columbus, bone beads and pendants were found. In India, berries like those of our arbutus are still used as beads; and the practice was known to the ancients also.

In shape they are spherical, orange-shaped, onion-shaped, flat like a disc, or a slice cut off a cylinder, and occasionally

* Several enamelled beads of great beauty have been found in ancient graves in America, but they are all supposed to be of European origin. *Schoolcraft*, I. 103, 104.

† Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 108, Pl. xi., fig. 6.

‡ Hearne's Glossary.

§ Schoolcraft, IV., 448.

‖ Wilde's Catalogue, p. 164.

¶ Ibid., 338, 339.

** Archæologia, XXX., 330.

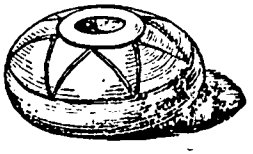
†† Schoolcraft, III. 69.

‡‡ Ibid., V., 146, Pl. xvii.

§§ Ibid., I., 104, Pl. xxiv., figs. 25, 26; and Pl. xxv., figs. 26, 27, 28.

‖‖ Ibid., I., 68, 104.

irregular. An amber bead found in a tumulus at Mold,* and now in the British Museum, is pierced, and in the form of a flattened sphere.† They are fluted, striated, dotted, clouded, and otherwise ornamented. The annexed bead was found in a woman's grave with several others, and with spindle whorls, &c.‡ It is blue, with a yellow zig-zag streak through it. In some respects intermediate between the bead and the mere pendant, is an object like that in the margin. It is a hemispherical piece of blue glass, with a thin frame and back of silver. It was found in a woman's grave.



Ornamented Bead.

Half Bead, framed.

3. *Positions in which found.* In some instances they have clearly been worn as a necklace;§ and in general they are found with the remains of women and children. At Long Wittenham, in Berks, glass and amber beads were found in the graves of women,‖ accompanied by toothpicks, ear-picks, tweezers, and occasionally by bunches of keys. The Abbé Cochet found a string of beads on the neck of a woman in the Frankish cemetery of Aubin-sur-Scie.¶ In that of a young woman, two amber beads were found;** in that of another, glass beads;†† and in that of a female child three glass beads.‡‡ In a woman's grave there were twelve

* In a Scottish satire, written by James Inglis about 1510, amber beads are represented as common, and are called "apill-renyies" or apple strings. The editor of the *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry* remarks, (vol. I., p. 384,) that "the French phrase *pomme d'ambre* means an amber bead, in shape and colour like an apple. By analogy or imitation, the word *apill* or apple appears to have had the same signification with us. The fashion of wearing amber necklaces, by degrees went down to among the lower sort of people in Scotland; it is now almost exploded even among them."

† Proceedings S. A., IV., 132.

‡ Invent. Sepul., p. 181.

§ Arch., XXXVII., 109.

‖ Ibid., XXXVIII., 331.

¶ Proceedings S. A., III., 98.

** Arch., XXXVIII., 337.

†† Ibid., XXXVIII., 338.

‡‡ Ibid., XXXVIII., 339.

amber* and two glass beads; and in another, 280 amber beads† of various sizes. In one instance, glass and amber beads were found on the breast;‡ and in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Brighthampton, Oxon, near the hands of the skeleton, were nine§ large amber beads, supposed to have formed bracelets. In two instances, the beads appear to have been attached to the sword-knot of a warrior, for they were found near the pommel,‖ in the situations which they would have occupied had the cords remained. In the Anglo-Saxon graves of Kent, seven irregular amber beads were found in a child's grave, along with a perforated copper coin of Diocletian,¶ the whole of which had evidently been suspended round the neck. It may be sufficient to state generally, that beads were found in large numbers in 128 of the Kentish graves;** and that several of the most elegant of these are represented along with the letterpress, and also on Plates v. and vi. in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*

The Abbé Cochet gives an interesting account of the beads found by him, especially at Londinières,†† of which two necklaces are represented, and he cites numerous passages from the ancient writers in repudiation of the idea, that beads were used formerly as now, viz., as mere amulets of savages. Mons. Fred. Troyon‡‡ shows that beads were strung occasionally on large rings, and their suspension on smaller rings is noticed here under the head of ear-rings.

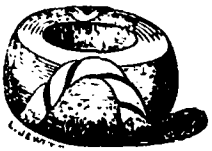
Whitish Bead, ornamented with blue, on a silver ring.

Besides these ornamental purposes, beads were employed, and still are, as religious aids—the rosary consisting of one or

* Archæolog., XXXVIII., 340.
† Ibid. XXXVIII., 343.
‡ Ibid. XXXVIII., 343.
§ Ibid. XXXVII., 395.
‖ Ibid. XXXVIII., 88—96, see Pl. ii.
¶ Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 14.
** In 25 graves at Gilton; 51 at Kingston; 38 at Sibertswold; 6 at Barfriston; 2 at Beaksbourne; 4 at Chartham; and 2 at Crundale.
†† La Norm. Souter., 272 & 278.
‡‡ Transactions of the Soc. Antiq. of Zurich, 1841.

more decades. Every tenth, or sometimes the eleventh, was a larger one, or gaud. Those of men rarely contain more than ten beads, or sometimes eleven, but ladies generally have double or treble decades. In the monumental brasses there are numerous examples of both men and women, especially the latter, who have Rosaries dependent from their girdles.* In Ireland, the beads of a rosary are called *padreens* (Irish, *paitirin*, as if the little father, in memorial of the prayer); and in England and Scotland the use of the rosary was associated with pattering prayers, evidently in allusion to the monotony with which they were muttered.†

(4.) *Beads in this Collection.*—The beads proper in this collection amount to about 42 in all; but others enumerated among the spindle whorls may have been beads also. A very interesting one was excavated by a rabbit in Hilbre island in 1863; of course, since these remarks were written. It is glass, of a bright cobalt blue, veined with enamel of yellow, banded by a small thread of green; both enamels being opaque, and the glass transparent. To an



Bead from Hilbre Island.

* On a brass at East Tudenham Church, Norfolk, the husband has a rosary of twelve dependent from his girdle, and each of his wives one of sixty. On the Jarmon brass, Geddington, Northampton, a dagger is suspended with the rosary.—*Hudson's Mon. Brasses.* Frequently the rosary is pendent from the belt by a hook.—*Shaw's Dresses and Decorations*, vol. II. The wife of Richard Rysle, in Great Cressingham Church, Norfolk, has eighty beads on her rosary; a lady in St. Clement's Church, Norwich, has forty; and El White, at Shottisham Church, Norfolk, has fifty. The wife of William Yelverton, at Rougham, Norfolk, has fifty.—*Cotman's Brasses.* Anne Duke, in Frenze Church, Norfolk, appears to have 25, some of which are hid by her Aulmoniere.—See *Arch. Journal*, II. 246.

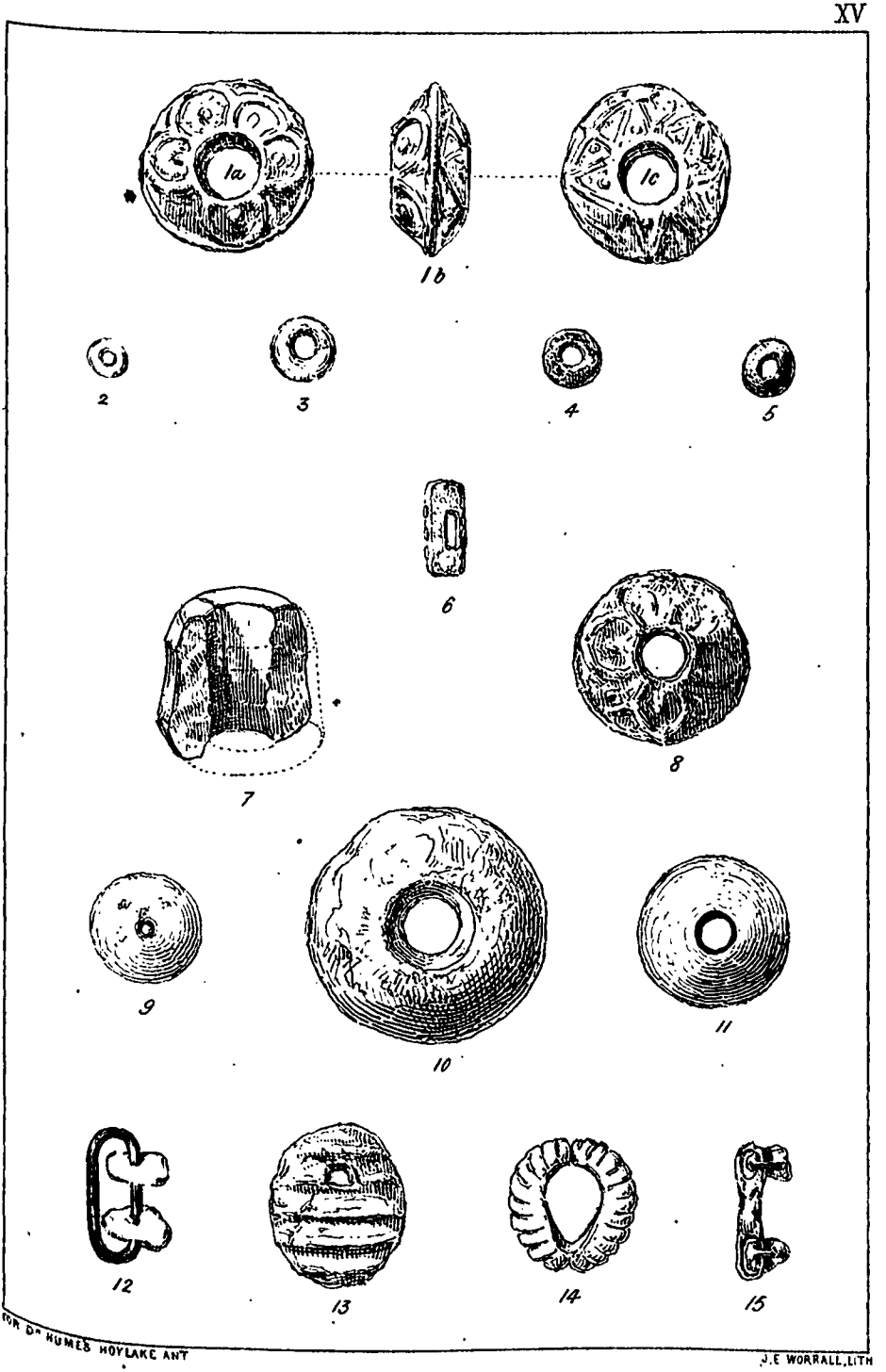
† Bid your beads and tell your needs,
Your holy aves, and your creeds;
Holy maid, this must be done,
If you mean to live a nun.
O. P. Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608.

Sum patteris with his mowth on beids,
That hes his mynd all on oppression.
Dunbar: Tydings fra the Session.

Preistis suld be patteraris, and for the pepyl pray.
Gawin Douglas: Satire on the Tymes.

Than mycht husbands labour thair steids,
And preistis mycht pattir and pray their fill.
Ban. MSS., John-Up-on-lands Complaint.

Fitz-Eustace you with Lady Clare,
May bid your beads, and patter prayer,
I gallop to the host.
Scott: Marmion.



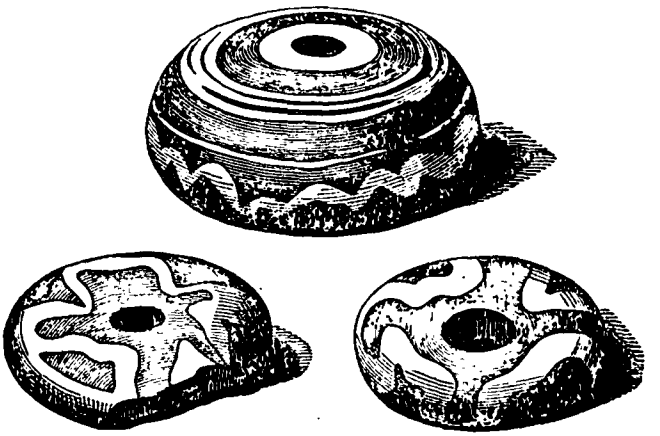
FOR Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT

J.E WORRALL, LITH

BEADS.

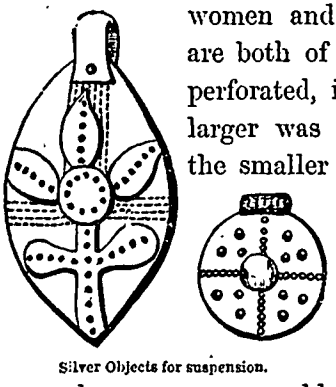
intermediate class of objects usually of lead, the name "roundels" has sometimes been given. Of those reckoned, 7 are of brass, 13 of lead, 8 of terra-cotta, 13 of glass, and 1 of stone. None have been found of amber, those which were thought to be so, turning out on examination to be yellow glass. Of the whole number, 20 belong to Mr. Smith, 13 to Mr. Mayer, and 9 to myself. Of the objects engraved on Plate XV., figs. 1, 8, and 14 are lead; figs. 2, 3, 4, and 9, are glass; figs. 7 and 10 are terra-cotta; fig. 13 is ivory, and figs. 5 and 11 are brass. Fig. 7 was a beautiful bead of my own which was accidentally broken, and the fracture shows the firing in its manufacture. Of the remainder, figs. 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, represent objects in Mr. Mayer's collection; and the seven not enumerated are Mr. Smith's.

Of this interesting group of beads, the whole have been obtained from women's graves. The largest is striated with red, white, and yellow; and the two smaller ones, one of which is broken, are earthenware, striped with yellow.



Group of Anglo-Saxon Beads.

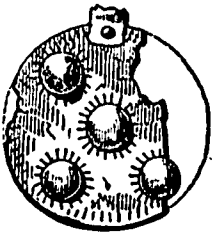
5. *Other Pendent Objects.*—It was not unusual at many periods of the past to suspend other small objects, after the manner of beads, on the knotted silver rings; and, as might be expected, these also are usually found in the graves of



Silver Objects for suspension.

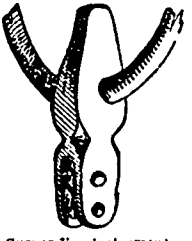
women and children. The annexed objects are both of silver; and each, without being perforated, is prepared for suspension. The larger was found in a woman's grave, and the smaller in a child's; and both were near the neck. Two others of the same material, and found in similar circumstances, are more or less fractured. The decoration of one, found in a woman's grave, bears some resemblance to a female bust, and the other has been stamped, as if by a punch, with five bosses, of which four remain. It has been suggested that they were amulets; but the idea of ornament appears to supply sufficient motive. In one instance, the object thus pendent was very small; but, as before, it was of silver, and was found near the neck of a female skeleton. As in many similar cases, fragments of chain were found along with it. In another case the brass instrument for suspending was very peculiar; but what the objects attached were, we do not know.

Portion of Silver Pendant.



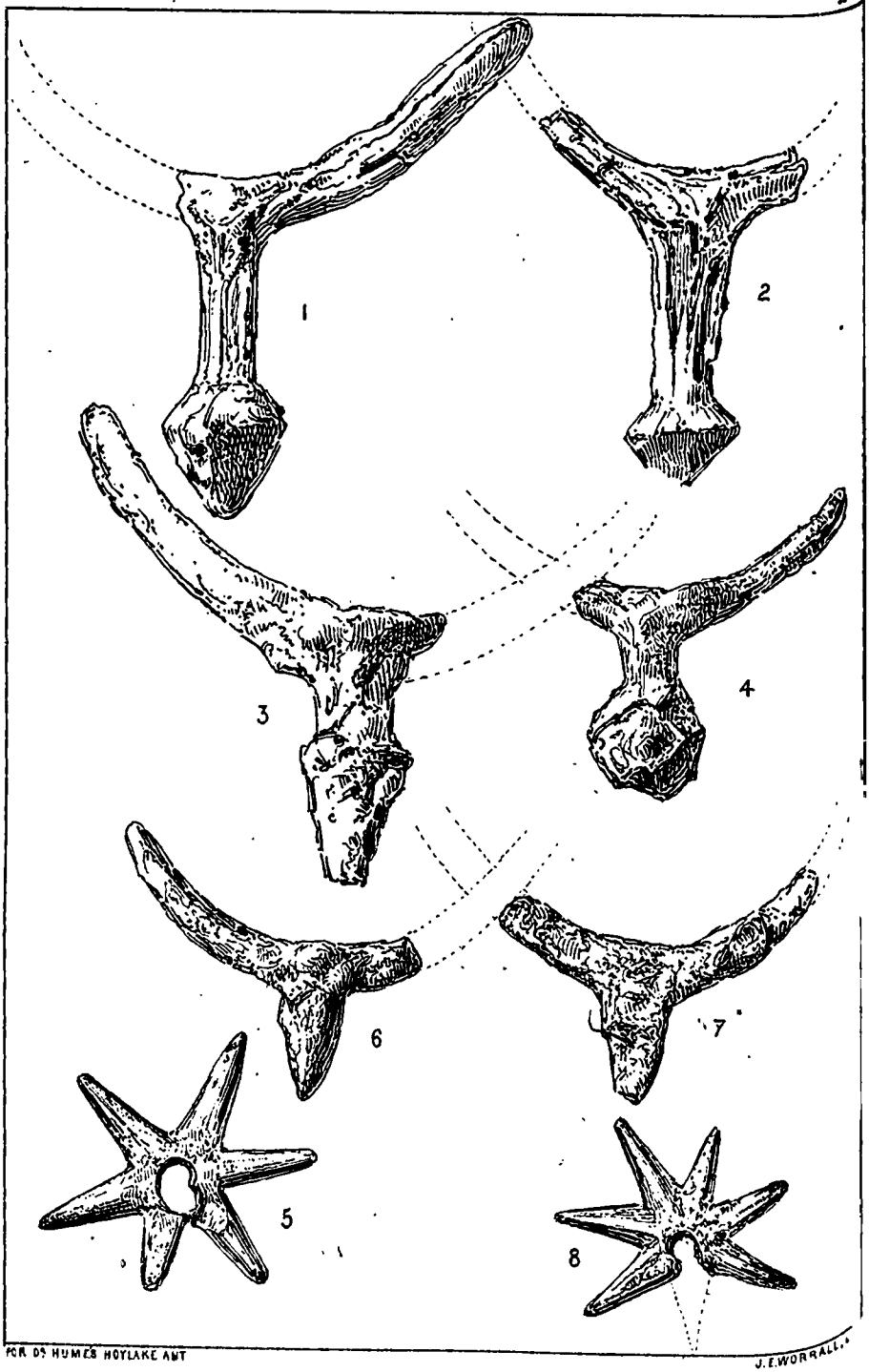
Portion of Embossed Silver Pendant.

Small Silver Pendant.



Suspending-instrument. Brass.

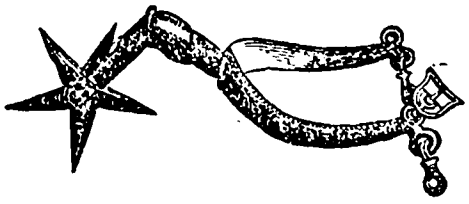
It will be seen that four of the objects engraved on Plate XV. are supposed to be of this class. Figs. 6, 12, and 15, are brass, including the little pendent objects attached to them; and fig 13 is ivory. If it be doubted that they were used for decoration on the principle of *cui bono*—we must extend the inquiry, and apply it to beads also; the use of which has been promoted, as we know, by the principal members of the human family.



SPURS.

XI.—SPURS AND HORSE FURNITURE.—PLATE XVI.

1.—SPURS.



Elegant Bronze Spur, with buckles and loops of iron.

1. *Ancient Spurs.*—The spur is not properly an article of personal decoration, nor is it a portion of horse-furniture. It holds a sort of intermediate position between the two. The most ancient spurs with which we are acquainted are Roman ones. One of them, like the Norman prick-spur with which we are familiar, was found at Hod Hill in Dorset, and is described by Mr. Roach Smith; and others at Oxford.* Others have been found at Roman stations, but are supposed to be more modern; as that found at Chesterford, and described by Lord Braybrooke in his *Antiqua Explorata.*† An ancient one, beautifully formed, was found at Chavannes in Switzerland, by Mr. Frederick Troyon. Another was found at the Roman station by Lymne, but in close connection with a Saxon coin.‡ One in the Museum at Shrewsbury, has the two bars which embrace the foot of unequal lengths.

A very ancient kind of spur in use in this country, was a simple goad fixed in leather; one of which is noticed by Meyrick, Vol. I., p. 118.§ A spur of the eighth century is engraved by Strutt from an ancient manuscript.‖ Several Norman spurs are engraved by Meyrick, and in Skelton, Vol. II., Pl. lxxx. Their form in the eleventh century may be seen in Dr. Bruce's *Account of the Bayeux Tapestry*, page 104. It is said that the goad-spur continued in use till the time of Stephen; but it was employed, at least occasionally, much later. In the time of Stephen we find it on the seal of

* Archæological Journal, XIII.,179.

† Journal of the Arch. Assoc., III. 179.

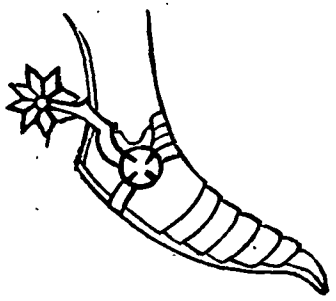
‡ Archæolog., XXXV., 398.

§ It was in connection with the sewing of this on, that mention is made of "my goodly sporyar's needle," in the old play of Gammer Gurton's Needle.

‖ Dress and Costumes, I., pl. xiii.

Richard, Constable of Chester,* and it is figured on the great seals of Henry II., Richard, and John. At Mentmore, in Bucks, a spur of the twelfth century was discovered.† Mr. Roach Smith's collection, which contained spurs from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, embraced several, both Norman and Saxon; and several are visible on monumental brasses. Thus Sir John D'Abernon, 1277, and Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289, wear the goad-spur. Also on the incised slab of Sir John de Bitton,‡ in Bitton Church, Somerset, 1227, there is a goad-spur; as well as on another at Avenbury in Herefordshire.§ We find the same spur on Sir Robert de Bures, 1302, at Aston in Suffolk.‖ On an ivory casket of the fourteenth century, described by Mr. Thomas Wright,¶ there is a goad-spur on the knight's heel. Sir William Calthorpe, of Burnam Thorpe, Norfolk, 1420, also wears one. Thus we trace its occasional use down to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the Royal Museum at Copenhagen there is a small bronze spur, the bars of which would scarcely extend beyond the back part of the heel;** but the bronze spur was often small as compared with the iron one.†† Meyrick says that the rowelled spur was invented in the time of Henry III., and that it appears upon his great seal; but one of the earliest examples is that on the brass of Sir John de Creke, 1327.‡‡ It was not common before the time of Edward I. The goad and rowell both appear on the brass of Bryan Stapelton, 1438, in Ingham



From a kneeling figure of John Statham, 1408, Morley Church.

* Fairholt's Costume in England, 445.

† Archæol., XXXV., 381.

‡ Boutell's Brasses, 159.

§ Archæolog., XXXI., 268.

‖ Boutell, Frontispiece.

¶ Essays, Vol. II., 98.

** Worsaæ, Afbild., 95.

†† Guide to Northern Archæology—Ellesmere, p. 53.

‡‡ Oxford Brasses, lxix.

Church, Norfolk; the goad bending over the rowell like a cock-spur.* The rowell appears in conjunction with a stop, to prevent the spur from sliding up and down, on the brass of Edmund Clere, 1488, in Stokesley Church, Norfolk.†

2. *Allusions to the subject.*—Part of the imports of the milliners from Milan, appear to have consisted of spurs; but Ripon, in our own country, afterwards became celebrated for their manufacture. Hence the proverb, "As true as a Ripon rowell."

The business of the spurrier was a distinct trade, though he attended at the same time to the other metallic parts of horse-furniture. Spurs of gold and silver existed, besides those which were gilt or plated; and, in special cases, they were adorned with precious stones. Those of the baser metals were common. In the Expenses of the Wardrobe of King Edward III., a large number of gilt and white spurs are given in charge‡ to the person to whose department they belonged.

In the *Shuttleworth Accounts*, for December 1609, a pair of spurs costs 2s.; in November 1612, another pair costs 12d.; and in September 1617, a pair of brass spurs costs 14d. In January 1599, there is the following entry:—"The spurrier for tynninge towe brydall byttes of my Mr., xvj^{d}."§

The spurs formed an important part of the equipment of the horseman; and in Fitzherbert's *Boke of Husbandry*, 1532, they are enumerated among the necessaries which a gentleman's servant should look to before going to ride, and should know by rote.‖ To win his spurs was to secure knighthood, an important step in the life of a young man; and the ceremony of buckling them on, still preserved at the election of a knight

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* Cotman Brasses.

† Ibid.

‡ Archæolog., XXXI., 100.

§ P. 115.

‖ Purse, dagger, cloak, nightcap, kerchief, shoeing-horn, budget, and shoes;
Spear, mail, hood, halter, saddlecloth, spurs, hat, with thy horse-comb;
Bow, arrows, sword, buckler, horn, leash, gloves, string, and thy bracer;
Pen, paper, ink, parchment, rosdwax, pumice, books, thou remember;
Penknife, comb, thimble, needle, thread, point, lest that thy girth break;
Bodkin, knife, lingel; give thy horse meat; see he be shoed well;
Make merry, sing an thou can; take heed to thy geer that thou lose none.

of the shire, was one of great interest. We are told of the knights of Buccleugh at Branksome,—

Ten of them were sheath'd in steel,
With belted sword and spur on heel.*

While, at the same time,

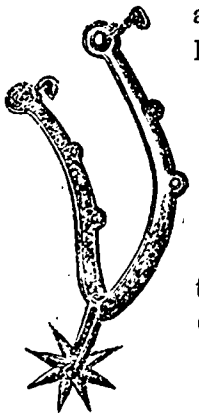
Thirty steeds, both fleet and wight,
Stood saddled in stable day and night.

Chaucer describes the Wyf of Bathe as having

On hire fete a pair of sporres large ;

and, in another part of the *Canterbury Tales*, he gives us a glowing account of a tournament.

Now ringen trompes loud and clarioun ;
Ther is no more to say, but est and west,
In gon the speres sadly in the rest ;
In goth the sharp spore into the side,
Ther see men who can juste and who can ride.



Bronze Rowelled Spur, with loops and hooks.

So important was the spur, that the ancient term for riding was derived from it. Thus Chaucer says in the Rime of Sir Topas :—

——he priked as he were wood,
His faire steede in his priking,
So swatte that men might him wring,
His sides were al blode.

And in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, it is said

An stede he gan prikie wel vor the maistrie.†

The first lines in Spenser's *Faery Queene* are,

A gentle knight was pricking on the plaine
Ycladd in mightie armes and silver shielde.

The term was also transferred from the exercise of riding to the horseman; thus, Lord Marmion ‡ says to James V. of Scotland,

Nottingham hath archers good,
And Yorkshire men are stern of mood,
Northumbrian prickers wild and rude.

Shakspeare employs the two terms in the same line

W'nat need we any spur but our own cause, to prick us to redress.§

* Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, i.. 4.

† Hearne, p. 553.

‡ Scott's Marmion, v. 17.

§ Julius Cæsar, ii., 1.

3. *Remarks on Peculiar Spurs.*—In this collection there are thirteen in all, of which not one is perfect. The six forms engraved on Plate XVI. are all of the goad form; and hence it is apparent that Norman chevaliers were familiar with the sea-coast of Cheshire, at Meols. Figs. 6 and 7 present greater features of resemblance than any other two, though they are not quite alike; nor is it necessary that they should be so, as it is generally understood that the ancient equestrians wore the spur only on one heel. The Hibernic argument in such a case is unanswerable,—that if the one side of the horse go forward, the other will not stay behind.* From the primitive and inartistic form of the goad in figs. 6 and 7, it may perhaps be allowed to conjecture that they are Saxon, and older types than the others. In figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4, there is the common feature of a neck, and a conical or pyramidical head to the stimulus; but the necks are not of the same length or thickness, nor are the heads of the same form. In fig. 2, the section of the cone gives us a low isosceles triangle; in fig. 3, it is a high one, and must have been, in its perfect state, at least an inch long. The head of fig. 1 is nearly perfect at present, but nothing can be inferred from that of fig. 4. All these are iron. Figs. 5 and 8 are portions of rowelled spurs of brass or bronze. The former is a star of six points, and the latter of seven. Among the miscellaneous objects in metal, engraved Plate XXIX., is one, fig. 4, which appears to have been part of a spur. It is of iron, inlaid with silver, and on it appears a human face.

Three of the spurs or portions belong to Mr. Mayer, viz., figs. 5 and 8, Plate XVI., and fig. 4, Plate XXIX. Nine belong to Mr. Smith, including the six goad spurs on Plate XVI.; and one object is my own.

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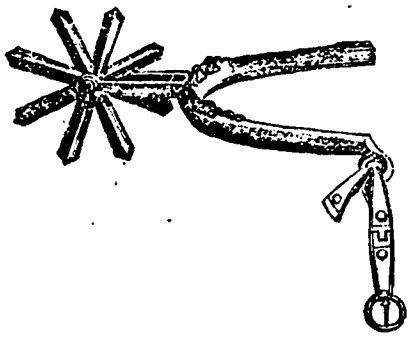
* No instance appears to be known of the Norman spur occurring in pairs; and on a curious ivory carving of the thirteenth century, each of the knights has but one spur.

The rowelled spurs of post-Norman times of course assumed many forms, only a few of which are shown here, though various others are described. In the example given at the head of this article, the rowell stem is large, and forms an elbow; there are five well-defined goads on the rowell; and there is a rude cross at the hinge which fastens it. The sides of the fork are curved so as to fall below the projections of the ankles; they and the stem are decorated with bead-work; and, while the body of the spur is bronze, the loops and buckle are of iron. The buckle is also peculiar in form. The one which is given in connection with the *solleret* or plated shoe, tells its own tale. It was in use at the close of the fourteenth century; it has a strap which passes over, and another under, the foot. It is fastened by a cruciform clasp; the bow is bent as before; and the shank, which is not curved, admits a solid rowell of eight geometrical points. The next specimen was found at St. Wulstan's, county of Kildare, on the river Liffey. The bow is considerably curved, and there are apertures on the lower side for the attachment of straps or chains. There are metal hooks at the extremities of the bow, and rude decorations at its opposite side. The rowell is of moderate size. This is a common type. The next example is a very beautiful one. It is of antique bronze, with a short, narrow, and straight bow; and with a large and beautiful rowell of eight blunt bars.



Elegant Spur of Antique Bronze.

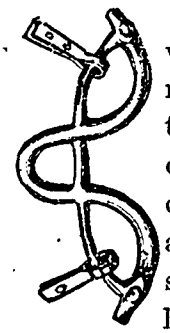
It is 6⅛ inches long; and the fork, which is 2½ wide, is unsymmetrical in its two bars. This is not unfrequently the case. On one side is a mortice-hole, as if for the passage of a strap; and from the other is a loop, whence two pieces of

metal are pendent. The shorter, like a tag or buckle-shank, has a space for the insertion of a strap; and the other, which is hinged in the middle, ends in a round buckle, like some of our Cheshire types. The strap appears to have passed from the shorter piece of metal under the foot, through the mortice-hole at the other end of the bow, and then to have been buckled to the other piece of metal which passed over the instep. Even these smaller portions are in the highest state of preservation, with minute tooling at the edges.* This appears to have been one of a pair, found in the same neighbourhood at an interval of many years. They were both in the collection of Dean Dawson, and are now the property of the Royal Irish Academy.

2.—Horse Furniture generally.

1. *Peculiar Forms.*—This appears to be the place to treat of Horse Furniture generally, though there are few articles in the collection which bear unequivocal proofs of having belonged to that class. That several of the Buckles, Tags, Studs, &c., did so, is a reasonable inference; yet it is possible to separate in idea, men and their necessary equipments from horses, especially at a remote spot on the seashore. On the site of a battle-field, or at the scene of some accident, it would be more natural to find them associated. Still, there are objects in this collection, such as figs. 4, 5, 6, Plate XXVIII., which seem to belong to the harness of horses more than to any other known purpose. All these fragments are of brass. There are also numerous small pieces of metal, not unlike that shown in the last cut, as intended to hold a strap; and, from the bridle-bits preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, it would seem that the reins were inserted in these pieces. Each such piece of metal moved on the ring of the bit, and contained three or four rivet-holes.

* Wilde's Catalogue of the R. I. A., pp. 601, 602.

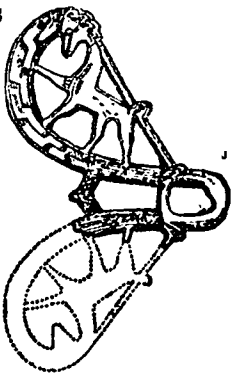


Cheek-piece, shewing rein-holders.

The annexed illustration shows a cheek-piece, with the rein placed at some distance from the mouth-piece, so as to give a greater leverage; and the metallic shanks for gripping the reins have one and two rivets respectively. This is composed of simple bars, four inches and three quarters wide, and ending in dogs' heads. Another fragment shows part of the mouth-piece, and the two rein-holders as before. Each of them has space for one rivet only. This is more than four inches wide; on one side flat, but on the other triangular and decorated. One wonders that so slight an arrangement was calculated to sustain a heavy strain; but our ancestors had the experience of centuries as well as of their own times, and must have chosen what they found the most suitable. The next example is one shewing decoration, and is called, from the style, "the Horse-pattern." This is only a fragment; but, when complete, it measured nearly five inches in width. None of the rein-holders are attached.

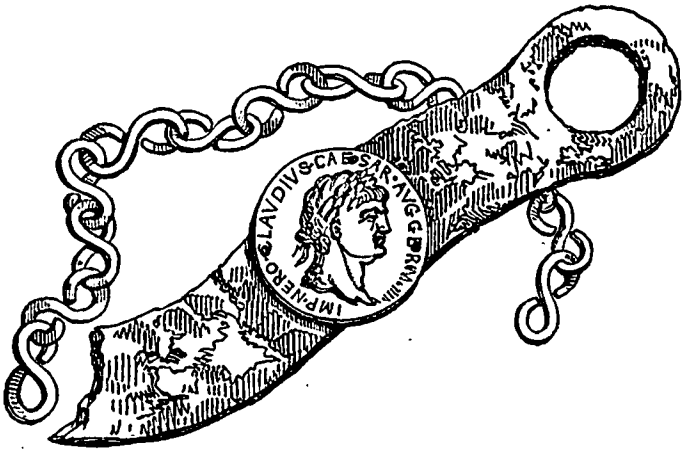
Bridle-bit and Rein-holders.

With these examples we may compare a very peculiar piece of iron found at Gilton-town in Kent, by Faussett. There were two, of which one is figured here, each about six inches long, and held together by an iron chain. To one of the pieces a copper coin of Nero was riveted. Faussett adds—"There can, I think, be no doubt but that this was the bit of a bridle, and a great curiosity."*



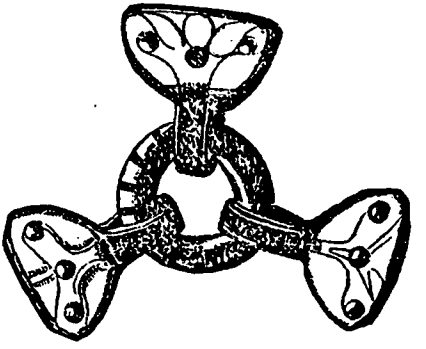
Part of Bridle, Horse pattern.

* Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 27.



Part of Bridle Bit, Gilton-town.

In the Royal Irish Academy there are many such objects, consisting "chiefly of decorated rings, or triangular loops; with three star-like staples attached, in several of which, as well as in those belonging to bridles, portions of thick buff leather remain."* The accompanying illustration, on half the scale of the original, was part of the breeching. Several small trefoil objects in brass exist in this collection, the actual use of which is unknown. They consist of an irregular ring in each case, the circumference of which is bent into three loops, and from each of these a strap-holder, like those connected with the bridle bits, is pendent. Such objects frequently occur on Monumental Brasses, as at the throat of a knight. At two of the pendents, there are buckles, which receive the two ends of his collar of SS; and from the third a jewel is suspended. It is clear that they would serve in like manner for any other



Metal of Breeching.

* Wilde's Catalogue, p. 612.

threefold object. In some antiquities brought from Maçon in France, about 1855, by R. A. Macfie, Esq., the same structure is shown; three shells being attached to the central ring at the bisection of their circumferences, and being riveted to the leather at the part which forms their hinges.

In the year 1848, the workmen engaged upon the railway near Navan, on the Boyne, discovered some horse-harness of bronze, together with seven highly gilt and beautiful metallic objects, evidently used for the same general purpose.* We possess nothing so elegant in the present collection.

An elegant Spanish bridle-bit, now in my possession, was found a few weeks ago in sinking the foundations of some houses in Mount Vernon, Liverpool. It was near a part of Prince Rupert's position during the siege of Liverpool, and is believed to have belonged to one of the cavaliers who accompanied him. The material is iron and steel.

2. *Allusions to the subject in Literature.*—Chaucer, in the *Knightes Tale,* speaks of—

> The fomy stedes on the golden bridel
> Gnawing:

and in the *Rime of Sire Thopas,* he represents a horseman as follows:—

> His jambeux were of cuir bouly,
> His swerdes sheth of ivory,
> His helme of latoun bright,
> His sadel was of rewel bone,
> His bridel as the sonne shone,
> Or as the mone light.

In the reign of Henry VI., gilt bridles and peytrels were forbidden by Act of Parliament; the latter being the instrument which guarded the breast of the horse—*pectorale.* Alexander Neckham, in the twelfth century, gives a minute account of a horseman's equipment, and it may not be out of place to quote the prominent portions† of it.

Equitaturus . . . ocreas habet et *calcaria,* sive stimulos hortatorios

* Wilde's Catalogue R. I. A., p. 573. | † Mayer's Vocab., 100.

quibus equo insideat, neque succusanti, neque cespitanti, neque recalcitranti, neque recursanti, neque reculanti, neque stimulos neganti, neque repedanti, neque antepedanti, sed bene ambulanti, et ad mittendum habili . . . Strepe, sive scansilia* a sella apte dependeant . . . *Pectorale* autem, et cetere falere usui equitantis necessarie non obmittantur. Camum vel *Capistrum*, frenum vel lupatum, sive salivare, spumis sanguineis infectum, habenas, et cingulam, et lingulam, pusculam et pulvillum, et trussulam sponte pretereo . . . Strigilem ferat.

Among the early Saxon remains at Barrow Furlong, was the skeleton of a horse; the bit was in his mouth, and iron articles, including a buckle, lay near his jaws.† Bits of the Anglo-Norman period have also been discovered.‡ One of the London companies was that of the Lorimers, or persons whose chief occupation it was to make bits and bridles.§ The term is still preserved in the Scottish surname, Lorimer; and one of the incorporated trades of Edinburgh still retains the appellation.

The testures were tubes to hold head ornaments (see *Capistrum*, in the quotation above). Among the horse-gear of the Duke of Brabant, 1292—3, the following entry‖ appears—

Pro ij. cindonis fortibus emptis ad cooperiendas iiij. paria hernesii, cum sellis cristis, testeris, . . . de armatura Ducis Brebantie, precium pecii, x^{s}. vj^{d}. —— xxj^{s}.

It further appears that the crests which decorated the horses' heads were made of parchment. "Item, pro vj pellibus parcameni ad cristas faciendas, xviij^{d}."

In the Shuttleworth Accounts, in the enumeration of horse-furniture, "fyve harnishes" cost 3s. 6d.; and in the Expenses of the Great Wardrobe of Edward III., a black saddle is gilt for a palfrey.¶ It is true that our predecessors vied with each

* Scansile, or "stigh-rope," here called "strepe," whence stirrup. Metal stirrups were unknown in England till about the sixteenth century.—*Fosbroke's Cyclop. Antiq.*

† Archæolog., XXXIII., 330.

‡ Boutell's Introd., 245.

§ Adeu, blacksmiths and lorimeris,
Adeu, the stinkand cordineris,
That sellis the schone ouer deir.
Sir D. Lindsay: Parliament of Correction.

‖ Camden Miscel., ii., 14, 18.

¶ Archæol., XXXI. 99.

other in the splendour of the equipments of both themselves and their horses; but the following is only a poetic exaggeration—

Gowden graithed his horse before,
And siller shod behind;
The horse young Waters rade upon
Was fleeter than the wind.

It is only necessary to add, that the bones of horses which have been discovered are usually small, indicating an animal like the palfrey, or the ancient hobby of Ireland. We are impressed with the same idea in looking at the sculptures from Nineveh, and many ancient pictures; indeed large horses, supposing them to have existed, would have been unsuited to this and similar districts.

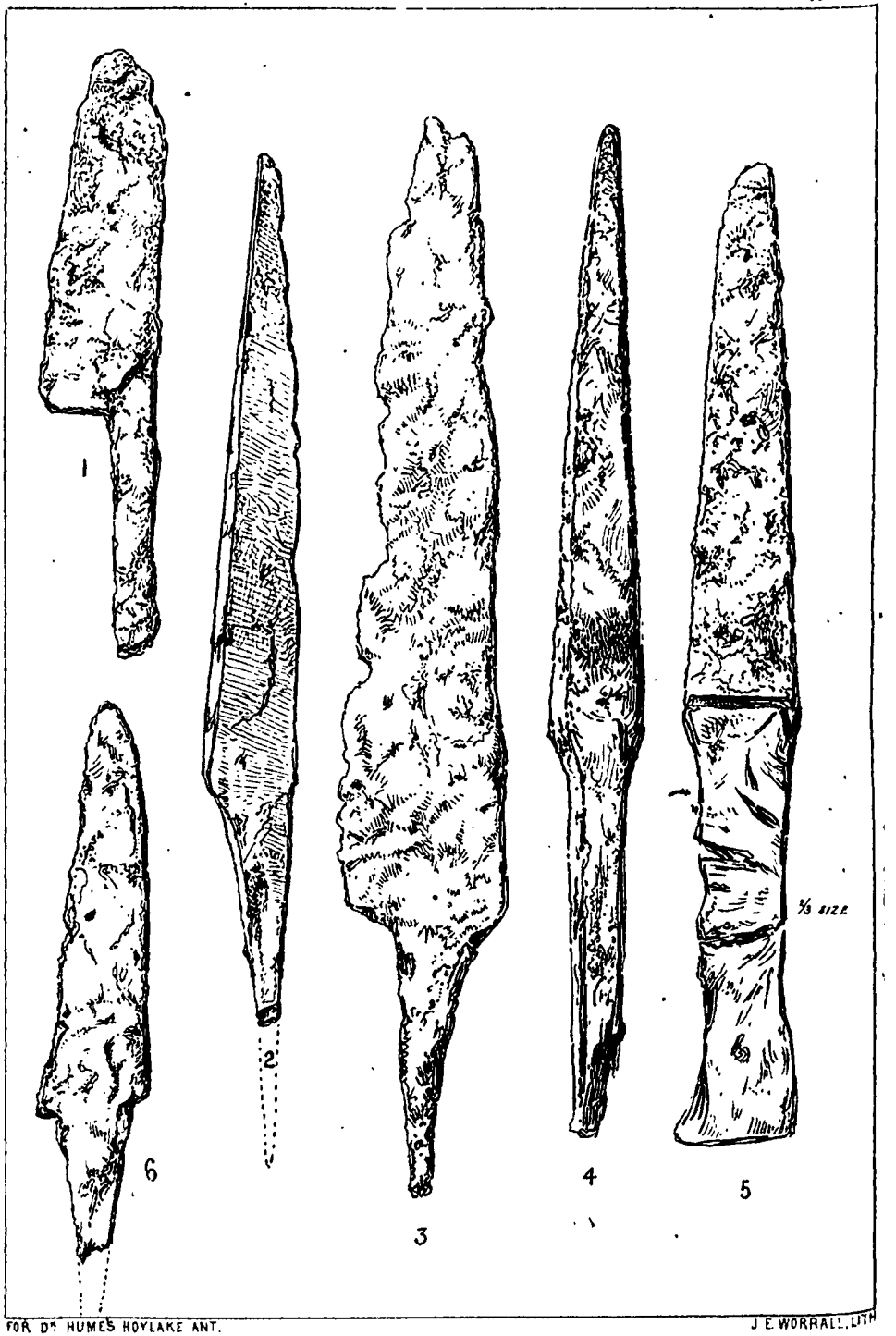
The decorations of horse-straps have been alluded to, and they may be seen in the old pictures which illustrate Froissart, and other books of that age or class. The bridles were frequently hung with bells and other pieces of metal, that made a noise during the progress of the horse, as in the examples alluded to under the head of *Bells*. There are also numerous allusions to this subject in our old English poetry:—

Her boculs were of beryl stone,
Sadyll and brydyll war . . . .
With sylk and sendel about bedone,
Hyr patreyl was of a pall fyne
And hyr croper of the arase,
On euery syde forsothe hong bells thre.
Prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer.

She heard a smit [smiting or clashing] o' bridle reins,
She wished might be for good.
O. B. Lord William.

About the dead hour o' the night,
She heard the bridles ring.
O. B. Young Tamlane.

I stamped wi' my foot, master,
And gar'd my bridle ring.
O. B. The Broomfield Hill.



FOR Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT. J.E.WORRALL, LITH

IRON KNIVES.

'Tis merry, 'tis merry, in fairy land,
When fairy birds are singing,
When the court doth ride by their monarch's side,
With bit and bridle ringing.

Scott. Alice Brand.

XII. KNIVES.—Plate XVII.

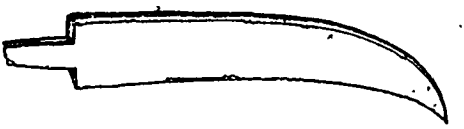
1. *Introduction.*—Of the early flint knives, only one specimen exists in this collection, indicating the existence of people in the stone age of civilization. It is represented Plate XXI., fig. 8. Knives of bronze are comparatively rare, and none are found in this collection; but iron knives, which were much more common, have remained till our times in large numbers.

2. *Form, Size, &c.*—The iron knife depicted by Worsaæ* is like fig. 6 on Plate XVII., when it was perfect. This also was iron. Knives have been found at the Roman villa at Hartlip, Kent,† and Romano-British iron knives near Settle, in Yorkshire.‡ At Barrow-Furlong, in Northamptonshire, twelve early Saxon knives were found together. They were from 5¼ to 2¾ inches long, and from ¾ to ¼ broad.§ A knife found at Gilton-town, in Kent, and described in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 7, is like our fig. 3, while others given there on Plate xv., figs. 3 and 8, resemble our fig. 1. A steel knife was found at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury,‖ but not resembling any of these. Certain Roman knives found at Hod Hill in Dorset, are broader than any of these, convex on the edge, and concave on the back.¶ Some Turkish knives at the International Exhibition were toothed like a reaping hook. The annexed example is very peculiar in shape, being broad and thick, and inclining to

Knife of unusual shape.

* Afbildninger, p. 71.
† Collectanea Antiqua, II.
‡ Ibid. I., Plate xxx.
§ Archæologia, XXXII., 332.
‖ Ibid., XXXV., 278.
¶ Archæol. Journal, vol. III. 97.

the point at half a right angle. It was found in one of the Anglo-Saxon graves of Kent. In an old illustrated edition of the Bible (1519), the monk's *rasorium* or scraper resembles No. 5 on Plate XVII. Mr. Smith's collection of London antiquities contains numerous knives, mostly of the sixteenth century. Some of them are of steel. Alexander Neckham* speaks of a pruning-knife, which should be coulter-shaped. The example given here from Chartham Down, is of the pruning-knife shape; it was 4½ inches long, and ¾ broad. Robert of Gloucester† records that King Edmund was slain by a long pointed knife. A lancet-shaped knife, perhaps like that which slew King Edmund, is also given in the annexed cut. Its length was six inches. At Wiggington, Herts, a bronze knife was found about 3⅓ inches long, resembling the half of a pair of mediæval shears; having a straight edge, a curved back, and a sharp point.‡ The specimens that have come to light embrace generally Roman, Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and English mediæval. In the last class is the "Sheffield thwitel" mentioned by Chaucer,§ which connects us locally with modern times. We



Coulter-shaped Knife.

Lancet-shaped Knife.

* Mayer's Vocabularies, p. 111.

† Robert of Gloucester, p. 310.

‡ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, IV., 254.

§ A Sheffield thwitel bare he in his hose.

The Reeve's Tale.

"In the same belt was stuck one of those long, broad, sharp-pointed, and two-edged knives, with a buck's horn handle, which were fabricated in the neighbourhood, and bore even at this early period the name of a Sheffield whittle."—*Ivanhoe*, I. p. 9.

The word was formerly, and is still in use as a Scotticism:

Ane rowsty quhittill to scheir the kaill.

Bannatyne MSS., Wowing of Jok and Jynny.

Macaulay adopts it in his "Lays of Ancient Rome"—

Hard by a fleshor on a block
Had laid his whittle down,
Virginius caught the whittle up,
And hid it in his gown.

It is also in frequent use in the United States, as in the expression "whittling," or, abstractedly cutting a piece of wood.

learn from the old play of the *Four PP.*, that pedlars carried about knives as part of their wares; and in the *Ancren Riwle*, of the thirteenth century, we meet with a semi-Saxon proverb: "Ofte a ful skilful smith smeothith a ful woc [weak] knif." The Frere, in the Canterbury Tales, had his tippet stuffed full of knives and pins, partly for presents, and no doubt partly for exchange; and such objects are enumerated among the "great rarities and riches" of Queen Mary.

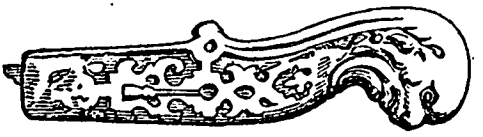
> His tippet was ay farsed ful of knives
> And pinnes, for to given fayre wives.*

In *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, p. 555, a man is represented as doing penance; and from the girdle round his shirt he bears suspended a knife, as well as a purse and a rosary. The Rev. Cotton Mather, in describing the Massachussets Indians more than two centuries ago, says, "these shiftless Indians were never possessed of so much as a knife till we came among them. Their name for an Englishman was *knife-man*."† M. Troyon describes and figures an ancient iron knife, with a slit at the end of the handle for suspension.‡

3. *Knife-Handles.*—It is clear from Worsaæ, p. 71, that several knives had bone handles, and in the interesting find at Barrow-Furlong, in Northampton, they appear all to have had handles of wood. Each was fastened in by an iron spike, or tang, at the bottom of the blade, and it is probable that each blade had been enclosed in a wooden sheath.§ Roman knives with a similar tang, either with a knob at the extremity, or a knob and loop, were found at Richborough.‖ Mr. Faussett describes and figures a brass knife-handle found at Kingston Down; but it is pretty certain that it is not Saxon, however it found its way into the ancient grave. Among

* Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.
† Schoolcraft, I., 384.
‡ Habitations Lacustres, p. 476, pl. xv., fig. 8.
§ Arch., XXXIII., 332.
‖ Antiquities of Richborough, &c., p. 99.

the antiquities from Italy, &c., was a bronze knife, with a handle of the same material.* In the singular cutpurse knife preserved by the Corporation of Newcastle-on-Tyne, the handle appears to be of bone, ornamented with circles somewhat like the specimen engraved Plate XXXII., fig. 7. In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy† there are several knife-handles of bone, and some of ivory, with short iron blades attached. In the Crannogues, and occasionally in street cuttings, similar implements of manufactured bone ‡ are frequently met with. Some of the bone-handled knives had a loop at the end for suspension, like that figured in Mr. Smith's Catalogue of London Antiquities, p. 72. It would appear that Irish knives were popular in the fifteenth century; for in the Robin Hood ballads, probably composed about that time, the outlaw is said to have possessed one. §



Brass Knife-handle.

4. *Position of the Knife.*—The knife was usually, if not always, suspended in a sheath; but as the latter was generally of wood or leather, there are few examples of its preservation. There are in my own possession several beautiful knives of native manufacture, from the Gaboon country in Africa, all of which are enclosed in thin wooden sheaths. They are two-edged; and at the distance of about half an inch from the edge all round, there is a thick ridge which catches the sheath and holds the knife tightly in. The figure on the margin represents a sheath of brass of the actual size, which, from its appearance when found, is supposed to have been enclosed in an outer wooden sheath. The smaller

* Archæologia, XXXVI., 351.

† Wilde's Catalogue, p. 263.

‡ Ibid., p. 261.

§ Robin pulled forth an Irish knife,
And nicked Sir Guy in the face,
That he was never on woman born
Cold know whose head it was.
Robin pulled forth an Irish knife,
And losed John hand and fote,
And gave him Sir Guy's bow into his hand,
And bade it to be his boote.

Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne,—Ritson's ed.

Knife-sheath, Brass.

object, also of brass, is supposed to have formed the top of a sheath; like the five rings which surround this one where the handle of the knife strikes it. The position in which knives have been found indicates the point of their suspension. At the Fairford graves,* knives in iron appear to have been pendent from the neck, or they were sometimes found by the ribs; and at Brighthampton, in Oxon, they were found near the shoulder and between the knees.† An Anglo-Saxon skeleton at Long Wittenham in Berks, had a knife, a buckle, and a pair of tweezers, all of iron, in the hands; and these lay in the lap. At the same time two skeletons of women had the knife, one at the left hip and the other in the lap.‡ In the old ballad

Top of Knife-sheath.

Knife, 8 in. long, found near left hip.

of Sir Hugh of Lincoln, the Jew's daughter is said to have worn the penknife by her spare, *i. e.* probably suspended from the girdle, or nearly as butchers and sailors still wear it. In the Inventory of Goods of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, 1527, the following entry occurs:—"Item, A gilt woodknife, with a scabert and gyrdell of grene velwet, the buckle and pendentes of the same, gilt."§ Messrs. Lindenschmidt show, from the position of various objects in connexion with a skeleton, that a comb, a knife, scissors, and other ornaments have depended from the girdle.‖

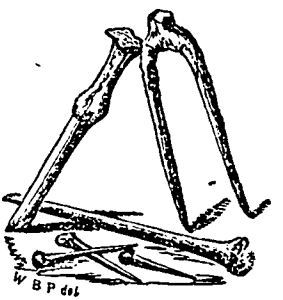
5. *Forks.*—Forks are much more modern than knives, never-

* Archæologia, XXXIV., 79.
† Ibid., XXXVIII., 88.
‡ Ibid., XXXVIII., 337.
§ Camden Miscellany, vol. III.
‖ La Normandie Souterraine, p. 242.

theless some very ancient ones exist. In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy there is a bone knife and fork. The following description of them is given :—"A dark-brown coloured bone knife and fork, referred to at page 267; the former is 6½ and the latter 7½ inches long. They are in the most perfect state of preservation, and do not appear to have ever been used; they were found, along with the bone pins in the same row, in the Ballinderry crannogue, and from the sharpness of the angles, and the extreme similarity in the ornamentation, it would seem that there was a manufactory of such articles there."*

In Mr. Roach Smith's collection is a bronze fork of the twelfth century, or earlier date. In 1848 a small iron fork was found in a Romano-British settlement at Wetton, Stafford. It was preserved in the museum of the late Mr. Bateman, Lomberdale House, Derbyshire.† A larger fork was found in excavating the Roman villa at Heddington near Oxford, by Mr. Ll. Jewitt; and a faggot fork in a Roman villa at Walesby,‡ near Market Rasen. There is a folding spoon and fork in the possession of J. D. Gardner, Esq., of about A.D. 1600. The bowl fits on to the prongs of the fork, and the length is 7¼ inches.§

Romano-British fork.—Wetton.



Roman faggot-fork,—Walesby.

Forks of bone are found in Denmark, quadrangular, with one end pointed; and near them knives and the remains of food.‖ The New Zealanders had no name for forks till after the arrival of the English. ¶ M. Troyon figures a large fork, but it appears to have served as a musket-rest.**

* Wilde's Catalogue, p. 338.

† Reliquary, Vol. II., 53.

‡ The other objects shown with it here are, a workman's chisel, the head of which is much battered, and some nails of various sizes.

§ Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art at the South Kensington Museum, p. 21.

‖ Guide to Northern Archæology, Ellesmere, p. 61.

¶ Old New Zealand, p. 142.

** Hab. Lacus., 475, pl. xiv., fig. 23.

6. *Knives in this collection.*—The number of knives which have been found and preserved is 31, all of which are of iron. Of these 28 belong to Mr. Smith, and 3 to Mr. Mayer. Of those which are engraved, No. 4 is thicker than the rest, and may possibly have been a workman's tool.* Such things have frequently been discovered, *e. g.* a stone-cutter's implement with the faggot fork just noticed, and a tool found at Richborough.† Fig. 5, which is given of half its size, has a plain wooden handle, which was saturated with moisture, and is cleft by drying. It is difficult to determine its age, but it is probably more than a century old. The others are all much more ancient. Of those which are engraved, figs. 1, 3, and 5, represent objects in Mr. Smith's collection; and figs. 2, 4, and 6, similar ones in Mr. Mayer's. Figs. 1, 3, and 6, are Saxon,‡ though 6 may be Roman.§

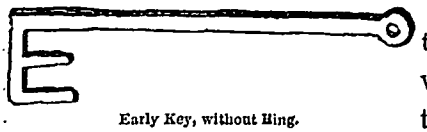
Common form of Knife-blade.

XIII. KEYS.—Plates XVIII. XIX.

1. *Introduction.*—It has been stated sarcastically, that the use of keys indicates a step in civilization—viz., the propensity to steal; but, without attributing to them a prohibitive purpose in every case, it is obvious that they are very ancient. The lock and key were known in Egypt, and they are alluded to in the Song of Solomon. There is also a Roman lock and key in the interesting museum at Shrewsbury; and among the ancients there were many such. In mediæval times, smithery was elegant and varied, in the construction of keys and of similar objects, showing great skill and power of invention on the part of the workers in metal. In general, the large keys were intended for doors, and the smaller for

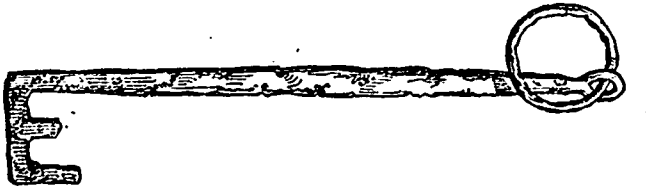
* C. R. S.
† Antiq. of Richborough, 99.
‡ J. Y. A.
§ C. R. S.

coffers; but it would be dangerous to announce a precise rule, as the two classes blended insensibly until it was impossible to distinguish them.



Early Key, without Ring.

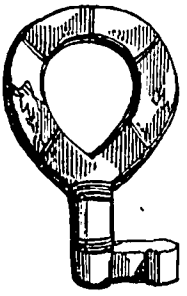
2. *Forms.*—These include the ring or handle, and the wards. In the older keys, the former was simply a hole like the eye of a bodkin, intended to admit a ring of wire; but it was not used for leverage in locking and unlocking. Subsequently, it was square or round, or, as in modern times, elliptical. In a key which the Saviour holds in his hand in the painted window of Chetwode Church, Bucks,* both the ring and its aperture are lozenge or diamond-shaped. In the keys on the Episcopal Seal of York, it is diamond-shaped, but the aperture is cruciform. On the Episcopal Seals of Gloucester and Bristol, Peterborough and Ripon, it is a union of four circles, forming a rude cross both



Key, with Ring.

externally and internally. In some instances, as in that given by Worsaæ, the ring is filled with ornamental tracery, and occasionally this assumes definite shapes; *e. g.*, in the beautiful collection of Chamberlain's keys, in the possession of Octavius Morgan, Esq. The ring of these usually contains the cipher of the royal personage with the discharge of whose duties it was connected. For example, that of George Prince of Wales (1714—1727), contains G. P. W.; and that of Queen Caroline (1727—1760), contains C. R. In many of the Roman keys the ring was actually worn on the finger. The shank disap-

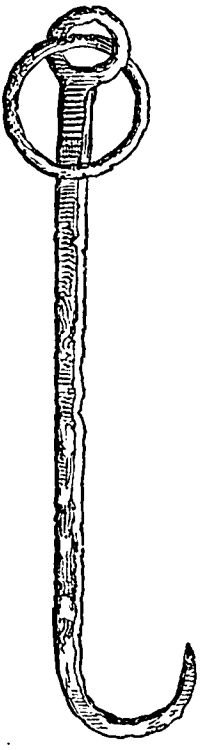
* Boutell's Manual of Brit. Antiq., Pl. iv.



Brass Key, with heart-shaped Ring.

pears, and the wards are at right angles to the ring, or in the direction of the length of the finger. Of the smaller keys shown here, one has the ring heart-shaped, and another diamond-shaped, while a third is circular externally, and divided by five trefoils within. Another has a circle and slit within an irregular arch. The first is from Kent, and the other three are from Ireland.

The shape of the wards was very varied. The ancient Danish keys resembled a piece of wire, or nail rod, bent into a rude curve at the end, and slightly cleft. In the older Saxon keys, the iron was bent at right angles, with one or two claws turned back in the direction of the shank, as in the first and second cuts in this article. In the key figured on an ancient coffer of the fourteenth century,* the wards resemble two bars inserted perpendicularly into the shaft, each of them having an outer one inserted in itself, and turned down parallel with itself. The stem of the key in Chetwode church has six semicircular notches, three on each side, each of which is perforated by a plain cross. In the ancient arms of the Fishmongers' Company, the principal indentation is in the form of a Tau, or St. Anthony's cross. In the ancient key of Bromley church, Kent, figured in Hone's Table Book,† there are only two small indentations, at top and bottom respectively, of the wards. The keys figured in Guillim's



Primitive Key, side view.

* Wright's Arch. Essays, II., Pl. i. and ii.

† Vol. II., p. 101.

Heraldry are indented in the form of saltire crosses, or by a single median line from the shaft outwards, with two short intersections. In the episcopal keys already noticed, the wards form crosses of various degrees of completeness, and the outward margins are indented, apparently according to the taste of the original designer. But keys of which the wards formed crosses were very common, especially before the Reformation. In certain French and Italian keys, constructed about 1540, the front edge of the wards is split into flakes, almost like those of a thick metal comb. Sometimes two keys were united on one shank, the ring or handle being in the middle of the shank, and the wards at both ends. In many of the ancient keys, the stem or shank was lengthened so as to project beyond the wards. See Figs. 1 and 3, Plate XVIII. In the *Marchant's Tale,* Chaucer represents the impress of a "silver cliket," or key, as being made in wax, for the forging of a duplicate. An interesting account of keys is given by Mr. Syer Cuming, in one of the volumes of the *Journal of the Archæological Association.**

Piped Door-key with T shaped web or wards.

3. *Materials.*—These were various; but, for ordinary purposes, the larger ones were of iron, and the smaller of bronze, or some other alloy of copper. Bronze keys were found at Richborough; and Mr. Smith mentions† that an English patentee found himself anticipated in some of his inventions, by 1500 years.

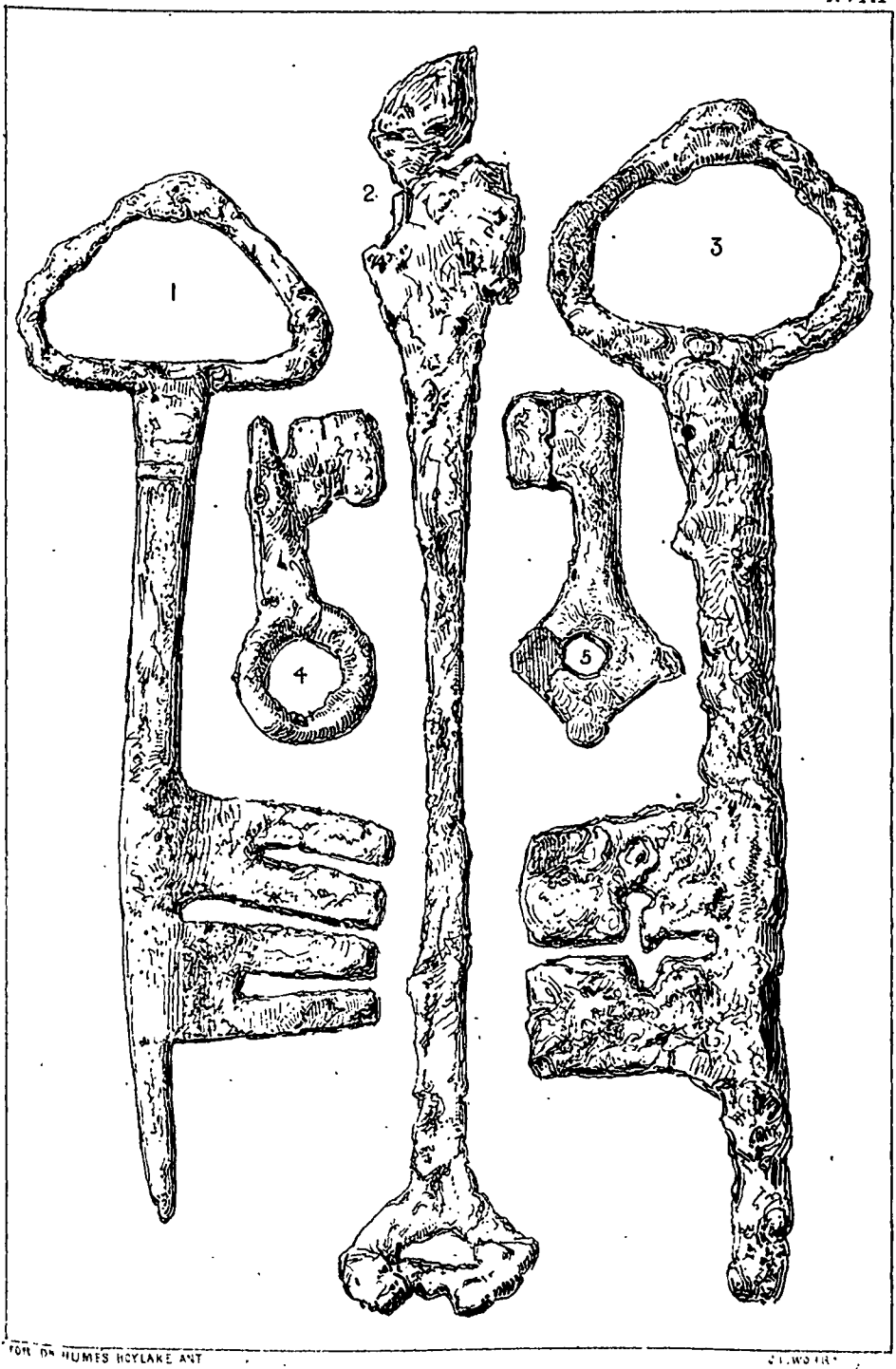
The collection of London antiquities embraces numerous keys in bronze and iron. There were also many in the Hertz collection, like ring-keys. Among the expenses of the Great Wardrobe of Edward III., 1345 to 1349,‡ are 100 keys of iron. There are forty specimens of bronze or brass keys in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy,§ in

* XII., 117.

† Antiquities of Richborough, p. 102.

‡ Arch., XXXI., 55.

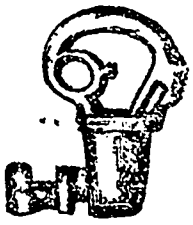
§ Wilde's Catalogue, p. 548, 549.



FOR DR HUMES HOYLAKE ANT

IRON KEYS.

which the Roman form is denominated the latch or lifting key. Six of them appear to be small, rude, flat keys, with no pipe, but with a small projection;* apparently like ours Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7, Plate XIX. See *Wards*. Some of the ordinary ones had a pipe in the shaft, but this was rare. In the old ballad of *Fause Foodrage* (Motherwell's Minstrelsy, p. 131), four-and-twenty silver keys are represented as hanging high upon a pin; and in that of the *Marchioness of Douglas*, there is allusion to a "key of goud" [gold]. Chaucer speaks of a key of gold as follows :—



Padlock-key.

> Than of his aumener he drough
> A little key fetise inough
> Which was of gold polished clere.
>
> *Romaunt of the Rose.*

4. *How Worn.*—In the Royal Museum at Copenhagen there are four keys suspended by a ring, which is divided into quadrants by a permanent cross.† The keys occupy two of these quadrants, and at the third there is the *acus* or tongue of a buckle, shewing that the bunch was designed to be suspended at the belt. In Strutt's *Dress and Habits of the People of England*,‡ we actually see the key worn at the girdle of a female of the fifteenth century, the example being copied from a manuscript in the British Museum. On another plate, the ring and keys hang over the left arm, but they are separable, as one is held by itself in the right hand.§ In the description of a Scottish woman of the middle of the sixteenth century, attributed to Dunbar, keys figure prominently.

> "Scho cleithis hir in ane kirtil of fyne reid;
> Ane quhyt curchey scho puttis upon hir heid.
> Hir kyrtil was of silk, her keyis gingling syne,
> Within ane proud purs the reid gold did schyne.

---

* Wilde, p. 551.
† Afbildninger, p. 93, fig. 361.
‡ Pl. cxvii.
§ Strutt, Vol. III., Pl., xvii.

On ilkane fyngar scho weirit ringis tuo:
Scho was als proud an ony papingo."
Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, II., 376.

In Labarte's *Handbook of the Middle Ages, &c.*, is a picture from Albert Durer of the birth of John, 1510, in which a female is represented with a leathern strap round her waist, to which is attached a ring and keys. Keys have generally been found in the graves of women, as by Faussett in Kent, Mr. Akerman at Longwittenham in Berks, and others in various places. It has been noticed by several writers (among them Mr. Roach Smith, Mr. Rolfe, and Mr. Akerman),* that keys were the insignia of office of the Saxon matron;† and Ducange says that in case of divorce they were to be given up. Until recently, carrying the keys indicated the office of mistress or housekeeper among the middle ranks of English life. On incised slabs, they are supposed to be symbolical of the steward of a household, or the mayor of a corporate town.‡ The key is frequently found with shears; sometimes two keys, as in the case of the chamberlain or treasurer of Hereford, on his monument in the cathedral.§ Keys are borne by the effigy of the apostle Peter, (Matt. xvi. 19,) and a sword by that of Paul. Taylor, the water poet, in his *Suddaine Turne of Fortune's Wheel*, 1631, says:—

The keys of Peter, and the sword of Paul,
Shall shut and open, cutt in pieces all.

5. *Keys in the present Collection.*—These are 31 in all, viz., 12 of iron ‖ (Plate XVIII.), and 19¶ of brass or bronze (Plate XIX.) Of the examples engraved on Plate XVIII., figs. 1 and 3 appear to have had triangular rings; and of the two small ones, the ring of fig. 4 is circular both externally and internally, and that of fig. 5 is circular internally and lozenge-

* Archæologia, XXXVIII., 331 and 343.

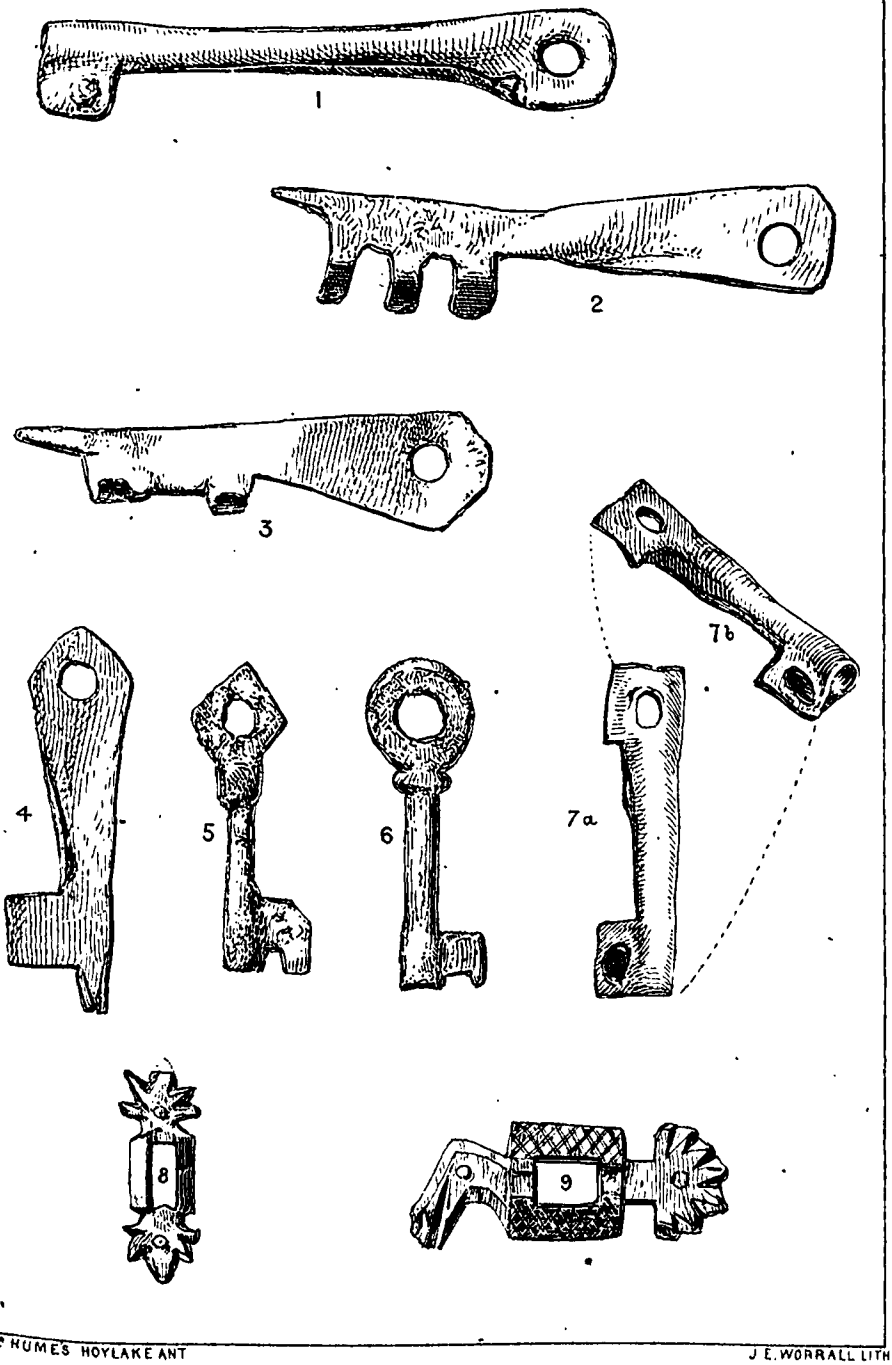
† Inventorium Sepulchrale, xli.

‡ Cutts, p. 44.

§ Boutell's Manual, p. 116.

‖ Of these, 7 belong to Mr. Smith and 5 to Mr. Mayer.

¶ Of these, 12 belong to Mr. Mayer, 5 to Mr. Smith, 1 to Mrs. Longueville, and 1 to myself.

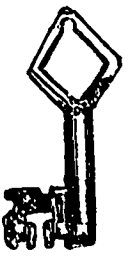


FOR Dr HUMES HOYLAKE ANT

J.E. WORRALL LITH

SMALL KEYS, &c.

shaped externally. The shanks of 1 and 3 are solid throughout; those of 4 and 5 are hollow or "piped." In fig. 3, the wards are cruciform; in fig. 1 they consist of three parallel slits, at right angles to the shank, the middle being the deepest, and reaching to the shank. Fig. 2 is peculiar, but it is scarcely doubted that it has served for a key. At the top of the shank of fig. 1, and near the ring, there appears to be the remains of slight ornamentation. Fig. 3 is from Mr. Smith's collection, and the rest from Mr. Mayer's. These large keys are comparatively modern; but some of them may be Saxon.*


Small-piped Key.

Some of the smaller keys, Plate XIX., are very primitive in construction. Figs. 2 and 3 are simply cut out of the sheet metal, and perforated at the top of the shank; the two or three projections which form the wards being bent to right or left. Fig. 1 is formed of thin metal, beaten up into the rude form of a key; the seam or junction being very visible throughout its entire length. A hole is punched as before at the one end, to form a ring; and the two folds of metal appear to have been rudely riveted to give strength to the part answering for wards. The key, Fig. 7, is precisely similar in structure, but smaller. Both of them are piped, or left hollow in the shank. Fig. 4 is formed somewhat like 2 and 3, but of double metal; and 5 and 6 are modern keys, analogous to 4 and 5 on Plate XVIII.

Of the objects engraved, Fig. 2 is from Mr. Smith's collection, 7 from Mrs. Longueville's, 8 from my own, and the remaining six from Mr. Mayer's. Some of these small keys may be Roman;† and Fig. 2 is Saxon.‡ Others may be of the reign of Edward I;§ and Fig. 9 is mediæval.‖

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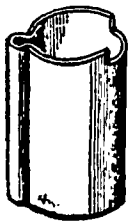
* C. R. S.
† C. R. S.
‡ C. R. S.
§ J. Y. A.
‖ A. W. F.



Cylindrical Lock, from Sibertswold.

6. *Locks.*—Among these objects no locks have been found; but figures 8 and 9, Plate XIX., indicate the escutcheons of locks adapted to smaller keys than any shown here. There are eight such objects in all, of brass or some other alloy of copper. A Roman padlock has been found at Uriconium, and is now in the Museum at Shrewsbury, besides several keys. It is evident that the locks were still more curious in their structure than the keys. While the names of numerous trades and occupations have passed away from us, we still preserve the word "lock-smith," though it would appear from Neckam,* that in the twelfth century only pendent locks for doors were known.

In the *Shuttleworth Accounts* of May, 1603,† mention is made of a plate lock for the highmost tower door; and numerous others, such as horse locks, hinge, and stock locks are mentioned. In the temporary exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, curious locks and keys were shown belonging to Stoneyhurst College, Sir P. Burrell, Bart., and Philip Hardwicke, Esq. The lock of a casket, with a brass or bronze front plate, was found among some Saxon burial-places in Nottinghamshire.

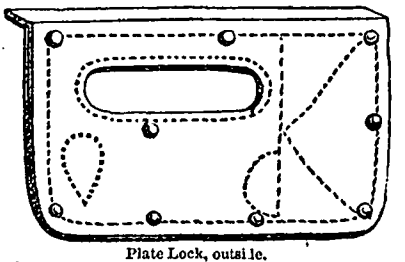


Plate Lock, outside.

The Risp of Scotland and the North of England, was properly the ancient knocker or bell. It was like a large perpendicular handle, ten or twelve inches long, projecting from the door about two or three inches. It was roughened by knobs or notches on the inner side; and from it depended a large twisted ring. The person seeking admission

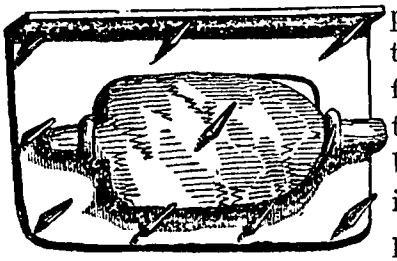
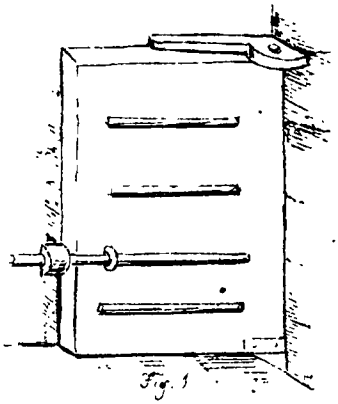
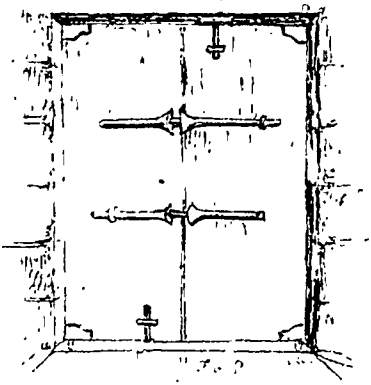
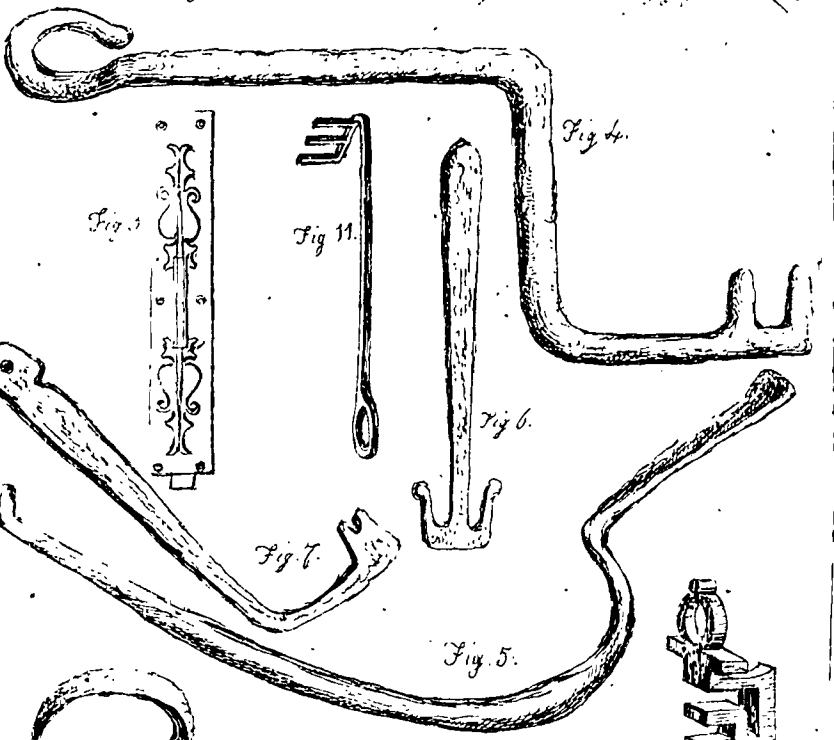


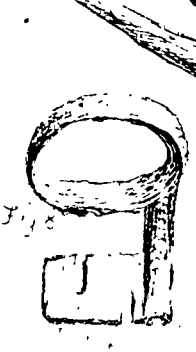
Plate Lock inside, showing Bolt.

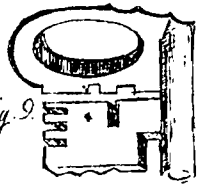
* Mayer's Vocabularies, p. 110. | † Shuttleworth Accounts, p. 151.

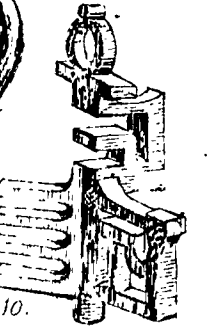












ANCIENT BOLTS & KEYS.

rattled this up and down, producing a discordant noise, as loud as that of a modern knocker. Hence the expressions in old poetry, "tirled at the pin," or "tinkled at the ring;" illustrations of which may be found in the popular ballads of *Young Bekie, Fair Annie, Willie and May Margaret, Young Johnstone, Johnnie Scott, Earl Richard, Lady Marjorie,* &c.

When she came to young Beichan's gate,
She tirled saftly at the pin;
So ready was the proud porter
To open and let this lady in.

Jamieson.—Young Beichan and Susie Pye.

Bolt, showing holes for prickot wards of Key.

In February, 1849, a paper on the "Ancient Modes of Fastening Doors," was read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, by Edward Higgin, Esq. It is printed in the Society's Transactions, Vol. II., pp. 57—68. Two of the three etchings which illustrated it are given here, to afford means of comparison with our English fastenings.

PLATE XIX. A.

Fig. 1—Door-fastening (Bolt), from an ancient Egyptian house in Alexandria.

„ 2—Door-fastening from a tomb at Thebes; iron bolts above and below, and wooden bars across.

„ 3—Ornamental Plate, to cover a perpendicular bolt, from Pompeii.

„ 4, 5, 7—Ancient Keys, from Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua.*

„ 6—Peculiar Key.

„ 8—Iron Latch Key, from Caer Leon, piped—Roman.

„ 9—Latch Key, piped.

„ 10—Supposed form of Key given to Roman women at their marriage.

„ 11—Egyptian Key, resembling F., Plate XIX. B.

PLATE XIX. B.

Fig. 2—Egyptian Lock, such as has been in use for 4000 years—from Denon.

„ 1—*Analysis of the above.* The bolt (A) slides in a cross-bar (B), in which are pins (D) which fall down into holes (E), when the lock is shut. These are made in the upper side of the bolt (A). A key (F), with corresponding points, is introduced by the orifice (C), and lifts them up, so that the bolt can be withdrawn.

„ 3—Celtic Lock, of wood, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh.

„ 4—Chinese Lock. The wings and tail of the bird conceal the link that opens and shuts.

„ 5—Padlock and Key, found in a tomb at Rome.

„ 6—Chinese Lock, well known in England.

XIV.—COFFERS AND COFFER MOUNTING.—PLATE XX.

1. *Introduction.*—In the days of our ancestors, when many modern conveniences were unknown, boxes, chests, and coffers were even more necessary than they are now. In the Expenses of the Great Wardrobe of Edward III., mention is made of eight pairs of boxes of iron;* and in the same document, ten pairs of large coffers for the offices of the chamber† are spoken of. Allusion is made to a pair of small coffers also. At another part of it we read of three pairs of large coffers, also for use in the chamber.‡

Some of these, no doubt, were like the large wooden chest called an ark,§ still an important article of furniture in many farm-houses. Several of the treasures of James III. of Scotland, were "fundin in a bandit kist like a garde viant," 1488; including knives, coin, plate, and "King Robert Bruce's serk."‖ Chaucer, in the Clerkes Tale, uses the word "cofre" as nearly

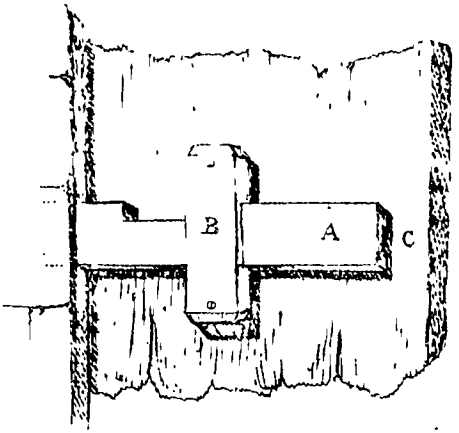
* Archæol., XXXI., 43.

† Ib., p. 77.

‡ Ib., p. 13.

§ In the Chester Mystery Plays, Noah's Ark is called his "chest," and the Sacred Ark of the Israelites was evidently a chest or box.

‖ See Scott's notes to the Lord of the Isles, Canto v., where other curious coffers are noticed.



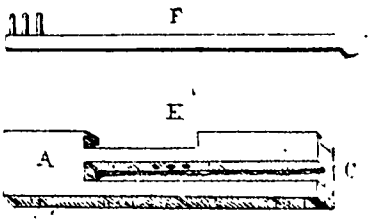


fig 1

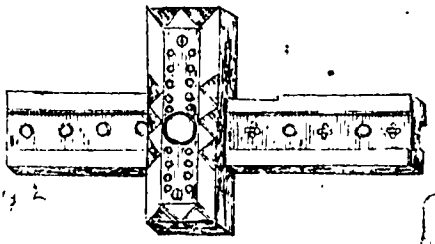


fig 2

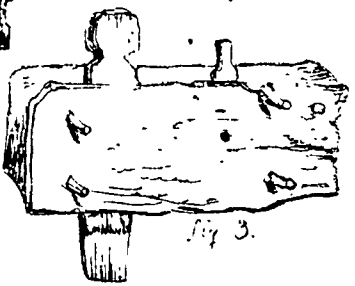


fig 3.

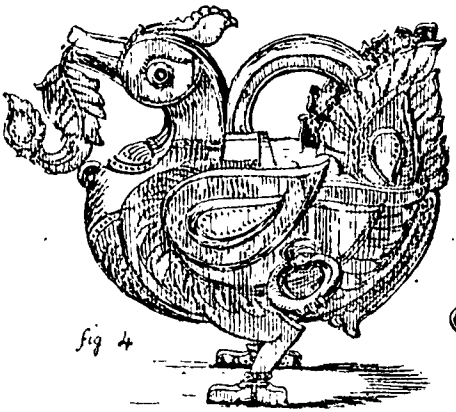


fig 4

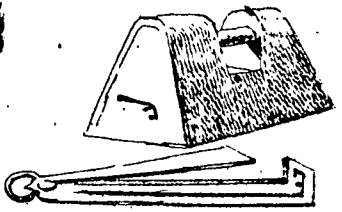


fig 6

fig 5

H. L. Pidgeon

ANCIENT LOCKS

equivalent to coffin; except that the box was intended to carry a living child. Two are alluded to among the wardrobe stuff of Katherine of Arragon, in 1535,* thus:—

Item, one lytille broken coofar of iverye, garnysshid with imagerye, having a handille, locke, and jemewis of silver.

Item, one cofar covered with crymsen velvette, garnysshid with gilte nayles, having foure tilles therein, the fore froute of every of them gilte.

2. *Examples.*—In our days the word coffer has nearly become obsolete; but it is still heard in connexion with money, as indicating its place of deposit. It was used in the same sense, and no doubt in other senses also, in the time of Shakspeare.†

> And, for our coffers are grown somewhat light,
> We are enforced to farm our royal realm.
>
> The lining of his‡ coffers shall make coats
> To deck our soldiers for those Irish wars.

It appears, also, from the *Nominale* of the fifteenth century, that the *Cassarius*, or case-maker, was then a separate trade, probably like our trunk-maker or cabinet-maker.

(*a.*) In 1767, the remains of a box were discovered at Kingston Down, in a woman's grave, at the foot of the coffin. It is supposed to have been like a modern tea-chest.§ One of its iron hinges is given here, and the hasp and handle will be readily recognised at their proper places from being engraved in outline. (*b.*) In another grave, near the same place, a box was discovered‖ with its contents, which are enumerated below.¶ One of its hinges of brass remained, with one of the nails clenched, showing that

Hinge from Kingston Down—Half-size.

* Camden Miscel., III. 40.

† Richard II., i., 4.

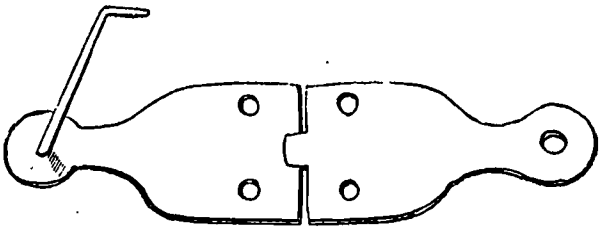
‡ John of Gaunt's.

§ Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 48.

‖ Ib., p. 67.

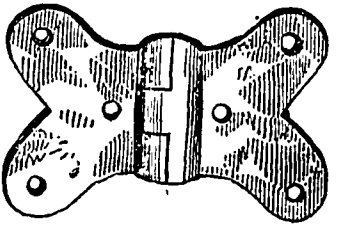
¶ An ivory comb, a brass armilla, a bead, a piece of bone on a ring, an Indian cowrie shell, a brass buckle, some blue stone, resin, three knives, a fourth knife in a brass sheath, a pair of shears, a silver hasp or catch, a chatellaine, some links of a chain, an ivory bead, &c., &c. This was a woman's grave, and she appears to have been a person of distinction.

the thickness of the wood was between half an inch and three



Brass hinge and clenched nail.

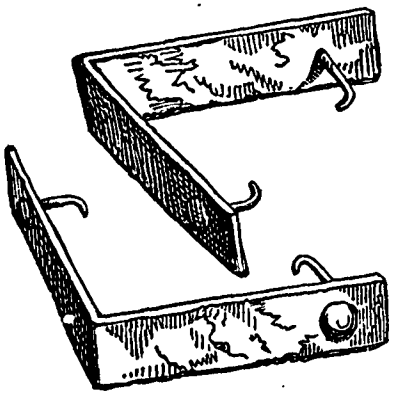
quarters. (*c.*) In another woman's grave, in the same locality, a pair of brass hinges were found, one of which, half size, is shown in the accompanying cut; and (*d*) a smaller pair still, of iron, were found at Gilton-town, with numerous other articles inside the coffin. The back and front view of one of them are both shown.



Brass hinge, half size, (*c.*)

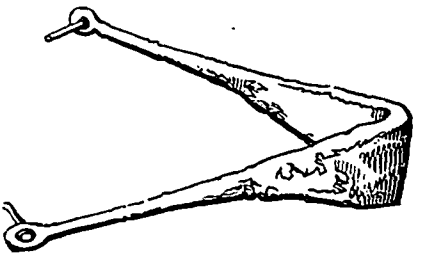
Iron hinge, two-thirds size, (*d.*)

The mode of mounting such boxes may also be seen from the specimens discovered in ancient graves. Here are two iron corner pieces, which were found as usual in a woman's grave. Each contains a couple of rivets bent at right angles, and showing the thickness of the wood. They are drawn to half the actual scale. They resemble the fastenings on the corners of a modern writing-desk, or rather the sheet iron protecting the corners of a school black board. Corner pieces of a different form have



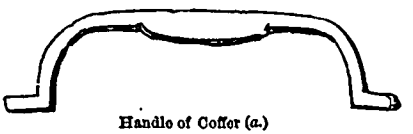
Iron corner-pieces.

been found, as in the remains of a box (*c*), one of five inches in length, narrowed to the two points, each of which contained a rivet. Several of these were found in connection with other portions of boxes or coffers, which are shown separately; and by means of letters each can readily be identified. At Caumartin, near Crecy in France, an iron coffer was discovered, which was protected by straps and studs. It had also iron feet. When the coffer was of wood, leather, or other soft material, and when it was in itself a valuable article of property, such protection was especially necessary.

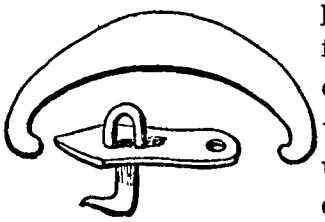


Iron corner.

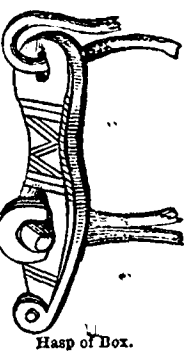
The handle by which one was carried was usually on the top, not two at the opposite ends; a fact which shows that in general they were light and small. Sometimes the fittings were not all of the same metal, as in the case of box (*b*); and in another (*f*) there was an iron handle for the top, with a brass hasp and staple, as shown here. The actual handle was three and a half inches long, or of a sufficient size to be grasped by the hand. The fastening by means of staples was peculiarly well suited for the hanging lock or padlock, which was then much in use. Here is another of brass, in its actual position, answering to the butterfly hinge shown above, from box (*c*). It would appear as if box (*a*) had been



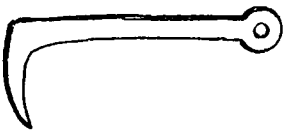
Handle of Coffer (*a*.)



Iron Handle and Brass Staple (*f*.)

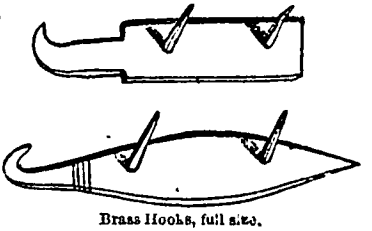


Hasp of Box.



Hook of Coffer (a.)

closed by a hook and eye, the former in front of the lid, and the latter in front of the box; its form is shown as before, of half the actual size. Two other hooks have been discovered, the exact uses of which are unknown. They are not uniform either in size or appearance, and they must have been fixed in permanent positions. They were found along with a knife, and numerous small pieces of iron; and, no doubt were fastenings of a somewhat similar kind.



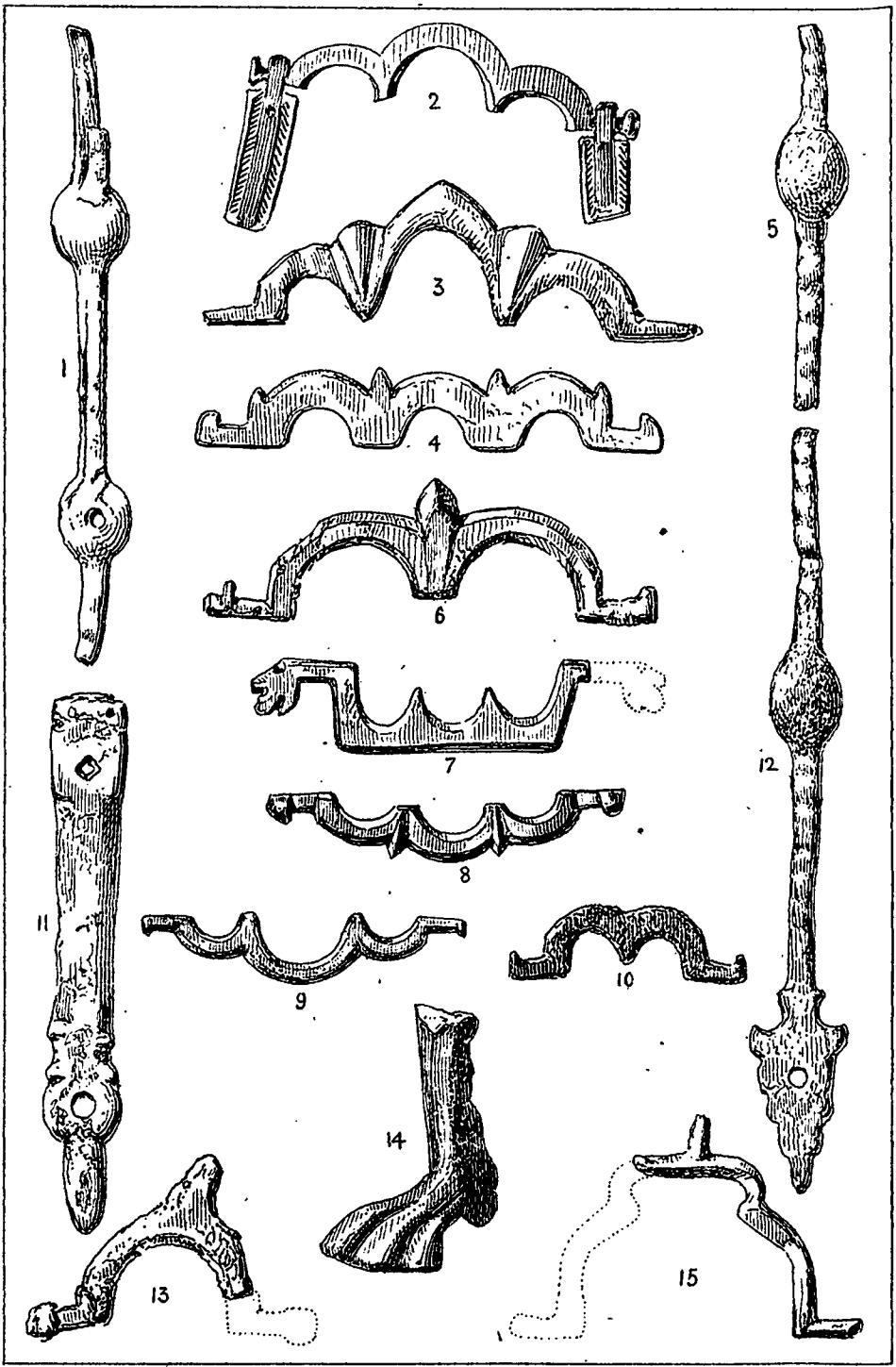
Brass Hooks, full size.

The mode of strengthening such coffers has been noticed; and, no doubt, the *cassarius* had modes of procedure which were in a great degree uniform. In Mr. Wright's *Archæological Essays** is depicted an ivory casket of the fourteenth century, the bands and clasps on which bear considerable resemblance to those in the present collection. Also various coffers are noticed as having been exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in the Proceedings, Vols. I., II., and III. But an example still more in point is given in the Journal of the Archæological Association,† where a German tilting helmet is engraved. It is made of leather, or *cuir bouilli,* and strengthened with narrow bars of metal, having knobs and points precisely like those in Plate XXI., figs. 1, 5, and 12. Several such helmets are represented in illuminated manuscripts, but they are naturally very rare. This one is supposed to be of the fifteenth century. The vant braces and cuisses of King Renè of Provence were formed of *cuir bouilli,* "Garni de lames d'acier."

3. *Remains in this Collection.*—Of the objects engraved on Plate XXI., fig. 11 is thicker and stronger than the others, and is slightly bevelled. It may, therefore, have been a strap

* Vol. II., p. 88.

† Vol. III., p. 59.



FOR DR HUME'S HOYLAKE ANT. J E. WORRALL, LITH

COFFER HANDLES AND MOUNTING.

tag.* Figs. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, are all coffer handles of various sizes and types; and in different degrees of preservation. They are not very different from the drawer handles or mountings of comparatively modern times. To fig. 2 are attached two slips of metal, between the folds of which leather appears to have been inserted.

Fig. 14 appears to be the foot of a coffer,† larger perhaps than those to which the smaller objects belong; and there are two or three others, but all of different types. Of several coffers exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, 1862, most of them of the twelfth century, there was one called the Shrine of St. Manchan, or St. Monaghan. It is mounted in gilt bronze, and stands on four legs, each of which has had a strong brass ring attached to it of three inches diameter, for the insertion of staves to carry it.‡

The collection contains 47 handles in all, 3 feet, and 9 pieces of mounting, all of which are of brass. Of these, 9 belong to Mr. Smith, 17 to Mr. Mayer, and 33 to myself. Of those which are engraved, figs. 3, 7, 9, 10, 14, represent objects in Mr. Mayer's collection; fig. 2 was one of the early objects, and all the rest are types in my own possession.

XV.—IMPLEMENTS OF ARCHERY.—Plate XXI.

1. *Bows.*—The bow, like the sword, is one of the oldest instruments of warfare in existence. It was familiarly known to the Assyrians and Jews, and to the other nations of antiquity, but they did not all regard it as of equal importance. It was an important instrument with the Parthians and Scythians; it was of less consequence with the Greeks; and it was of quite secondary importance among the Romans. Perhaps the reason was, that at all times it was better adapted for light troops than for the ordinary heavy soldiers.

* Probably the hinge or mounting of a leather box.—A. W. F.

† Perhaps the foot of a little pot.—C.R.S.

‡ For a full description, see the Catalogue, No. 899, p. 47.

It is said that the shape of the bow is derived from the graceful curve of the horns of some of our quadrupeds. This is the origin ascribed by Homer* to the bow of Pandarus, and the theory has been taken up by some of our modern† archæologists; but it is more reasonable to infer that the primitive bow was a single arch, and hence its name (*arcus*). There have since been many forms; and two New Zealand bows in my own possession are like straight wands, which require to be forcibly bent before the string can be properly placed in the notches prepared for it.

The bow is said to have been introduced for warlike purposes by the Normans; but it is clear that archery was known in this country centuries before their time. The Saxons killed birds with the bow, employed it in the chase, and slew their enemies in battle. The long-bow was six feet long, but not unfrequently the bows were short and the arrows long. The Irish archer was to have a bow "of his own length, and one fistmele (hand-breadth) at least between the neckes."‡

Bows and arrows were used by our English soldiers so late as the time of Queen Elizabeth;§ but during her long reign they were practically discontinued. They were used still more recently by the Highland clans; but the superiority in archery belonged to England so long as the practice existed. In the old ballad of *Chevy Chase*, the English are throughout described as archers, and the Scotch as spearmen.‖ Lancashire and Cheshire were noted for their bowmen; and by means of these the tide of battle was turned at Flodden field, in 1513.

* 'Twas form'd of horn, and smooth'd with artful toil,
A mountain goat resign'd the shining spoil,
Who pierced long since beneath his arrows bled;
The stately quarry on the cliffs lay dead,
And sixteen palms his brow's large honours spread;
The workman join'd, and shaped the bended horns,
And beaten gold each taper point adorns.
Pope. Iliad, iv., 187-148.

† Paper by H. Syer Cuming. Journal of Archæological Assoc., III. 23.

‡ Irish Statutes, 5 Ed. IV., chap. iv.

§ The sharp steel-pointed arrows,
And bullets thick did fly;
So did our valiant soldiers
Charge on most furiously.
O. B. *Lord Willoughby.—Per. Rel.*, II., 248.

‖ Then the Perse out of Bamborowe cam,
With him a myghtye meany;
With fifteen hondrith archares bold;
The wear chosen out of shyars thre.
* * * * * *
The wear twenty hondrith spearmen good
Withouten any fayle;
The wear borne a-long be the watter o' Twyde
Yth bowndes of Tividale.
Percy's Reliques, I., 5, 6.

The following are allusions to the subject :—

Our Englishmen full egerly
attilde them to shott;
Skochen the cruell Scottes
with their kene arrowes.
The Scottish Field. Chet. Misc., II.

The Englishmen their feathered flights
Sent out anon from sounding bow,
Which wounded many warlike wights,
And many a groom to ground did throw.
The grey goose wing did work such grief,
And did the Scots so scour and skail;
For in their battle to be brief,
They rattling flew as rank as hail.
O. B. *Flodden Field*, l. 1949-1956.

Wide raged the battle on the plain,
Spears shook and falchions flashed amain,
Fell England's arrow flight like rain.
Scott. Marmion, vi. 26.

The costume which was worn in this part of the country by the archers was blue,* as may be seen in the figures represented in the painted window in Middleton Church; but the forest outlaws, a century or two previous, delighted in the green cloth of Lincoln or of Kendal, by which they were better concealed in the woods.

The surname Archer belongs to the north of England; and most of those who bear the name trace their ancestry from Berwick-on-Tweed. There were other surnames connected with the practice, such as Fletcher,† Bowyer, Bowmaker, &c. Allusion is made to some of these trades in Rowley's old play, *Match at Midnight*:—

* In 1553, the hundred of West Derby raised 430 men, of whom the proportion for Liverpool was 4; and, in 1567, the foot soldiers from the southern hundreds of the shire "repaired to this town, and from hence to Chester, all in blue uniform; returned after passing muster, and embarked for the north of Ireland with 650 horsemen."—*Annals of Liverpool.*

† A featherer of arrows, sometimes a maker of arrows generally. "On the day after St. George's Day (24th April), 1530, the king's fletcher was paid 20s. for arrowes which he had supplied to my lord of Richmond."—*Cam. Misc.*, III., lix.

Her mind runs sure upon a fletcher or a bowyer, howsoever I'll inform against both; the fletcher for taking whole money for his pieced arrows, &c.

Like other words,* the term archer survived long after the practice had been abandoned; thus Cotgrave writes in 1650—"Archer, a warder in a town or fortresse, whose weapon, at this day a halberd, was in old time a bow and arrowes."

The materials of archery varied with the forest-trees† of the district; but bows of yew‡ and arrows of aspen are frequently alluded to; and Spenser enumerates the purposes,§ including these, to which the various trees of the forest were subservient. About the time of Richard I., the bow was of hazel.‖

The crossbow was a variety of structure which gave greater force and better direction, though it could not be employed with the same rapidity. The crossbow-man, whom we find among the military of the thirteenth century, discharged bolts and quarrels; and sometimes the object discharged was intended to be broken on reaching its object, and it was filled with lime or some other burning material.¶

Fig. 9 is the bolt of a crossbow. In the old Scottish ballad of *Peblis to the Play*, written about 1457, a young man is represented as equipped with a crossbow and bolt** on May-day.

---

* In the same way a bowman was called *balearius*, though properly that meant a slinger, originally from the Balearic isles; and we still speak of a grenadier, though the grenade is not in use. In like manner, we may continue to speak of a sheriff's attendants as javelin men, long after the use of that weapon has ceased.

† The bowes of ewe, wych-hassell, ashe, awburne, or any other reasonable tree, according to their power, and the shafts in the same manner.—*Irish Stat.* 5, *Ed. IV.*

‡ If ever thou comest to thy command,
Our wardens had need to keep good order;
My bow of yew to a hazel wand,
Thou'lt make them work upon the border.
Scott, Lay of Last Minstrel, iii., 20.

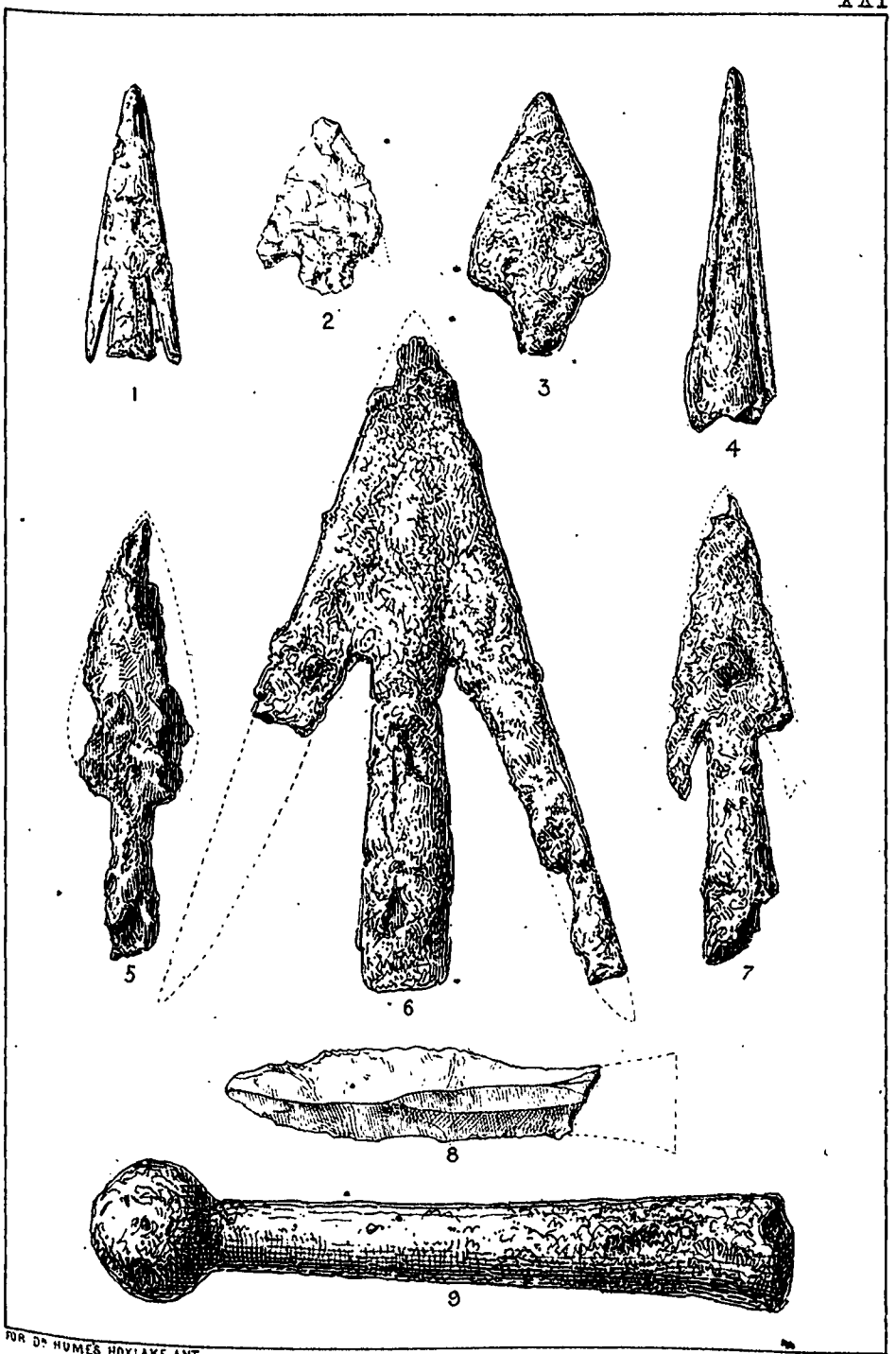
§ The laurell, meed of mightie conquerours
And poets sage; the firre that weepeth still;
The willow, worne of forlorne paramours;
The eugh, obedient to the bender's will;
The birch for shaftes, the sallow for the mill;
The mirre sweete-bleeding in the bitter wound;
The warlike beech; the ashe for nothing ill;
The fruitfull olive; and the platane round;
The carver holme; the maple seldom inward sound
Faery Queene, I. i. 9.

‖ Meyrick, 90.

¶ Ibid., 155.

** Ane young man stert into that stedd,
Als cant as any colt,
Ane birkin hat upon his heid,
With ane bow and ane bolt;
Said, mirrie madinis think not lang;
The wedder is fair and smolt.
He cleikit up ane hie ruf sang,
"Thair fure ane man to the holt," &c.

His song appears to have suited his circumstances—"There went a man to the greenwood."



IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AND THE CHASE.

The earlier crossbows had an iron loop at the top, into which the archer placed his foot, in order to gain force while drawing the string back to its place; but machinery was afterwards devised for the purpose. I possess a Chinese crossbow, in which this is arranged with great simplicity. By raising a lever with the right hand, the groove moves upwards and lays hold of the string, the arrow at the same time dropping down in front of it; and, by depressing the hand, a trigger is raised which discharges the arrow. Six arrows are first laid in a receptacle prepared for them, and the bow is placed in position resting on the left thigh of a horseman; the six arrows can then be discharged in less than as many seconds.

The crossbow was frequently used for shooting at birds, for the bolt was so blunt that it did not lacerate;* and occasionally a man was knocked from his horse in the same way without sustaining serious injury. In the *Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode*, the monk is represented as brought to the ground in this way:—

> Much was redy with a bolte,
> Redly and a none,
> He set the monke to fore the brest,
> To the ground that he can gone.†
>
> *Gutch's* R. H., I. 181.

The "featherless bolt," as it was called, has given us a variety of expressions all connected with itself. Thus: the lightning is a bolt, because rapid in its flight; and any thing which is straight is bolt-upright.‡ The bolt of a door is shot out; bran is bolted or shot out from the mill; and food is bolted or rapidly shot down.§

* *Bird-bolts*, blunt, pointless arrows to kill birds without piercing them.—*Glossary to Massinger's Plays.*

> Or if thou wilt goe shoote at little birds,
> With bow and boult, the thrustle-cocke and sparrow,
> Such as our countrey hedges can afford,
> I have a fine bowe and an ivorie arrowe.
>
> *Barnfield's Affec. Shep.*, p. 16.

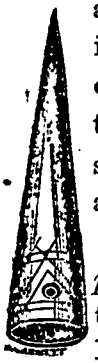
† In the modern version by the Rev. John Eagles, it is given thus:—

> Mutch then was ready with a bolt,
> Anon which so he sent,
> That he hit the monk right on the breast;
> And unto the ground he went.
>
> *Gutch*, I., 260.

‡ Chaucer has bolt-upright for lying straight in bed.—*Cant. Tales*, l. 13, 246.

§ Dean Hoare on English Roots.

2. *Arrows.*—The ordinary arrow-head is well-known, though at all times there was more or less variety in its structure. At first it was inserted in a slit of the shaft;* and the *Skeleton in Armour* discovered in America, and already alluded to, had copper arrows with heads of a peculiar construction. "Each was about an inch and a half long, by an inch broad at the base, and had a round hole in the centre to fasten it to the shaft. They were rather thicker than sheathing copper, quite sharp, not barbed, the sides concave, and the base square."† Afterwards the head was made hollow, and it was considered better to insert the shaft in it; and figs. 1 and 4, on Plate XXI., appear to have been constructed in this way. The annexed woodcut represents a conical arrow-head of bone, three inches long, from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It is slightly ornamented; and the hole by which it was attached to the wood is visible.



Bone Arrow-head.

The large central arrow, fig. 6, Plate XXI., is a *pheon,* or broad arrow,‡ examples of which appear in the arms of Egerton of Cheshire, and of several other English families. Another was found in 1862.§ In the old English ballad of *Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough,* and *William of Cloudesley,* the last named is represented as cleaving the apple on his son's head with a broad arrow;‖ an achievement which is also ascribed to William Tell. In the *Biblia Sacra,* 1519, a woodcut represents Esau as shooting with a broad arrow to procure the venison for his

* Guide to Northern Archæology, Ellesmere, p. 51.

† Schoolcraft, I., 128.

‡ *Hec catepulta,* a broad arrow.—*Mayer's Vocab.,* p. 196. There is the representation of one at Cashel; and one is represented as piercing a wild animal.—*Carter,* p. 87.

Strictly speaking, the pheon differed from the broad arrow, by having its barbs serrated on the inner side, and broader at their extremities than at the top. This distinction was not always kept up in speech or writing.

§ See Reliquary, iv. 32.

‖ There he drew out a fayr brode arrowe,
Hys bowe was great and longe,
He set that arrowe in his bowe,
That was bothe styffe and stronge,
And Cloudeslè clefte the apple in two
His sone he did not nee,
Over Gods forbode, sayde the kinge,
That thou sholde shote at me.
Percy's Reliques, I., 189, 190.

father; and in the old ballad of *Sir Andrew Barton*, the pirate's nephew, James Hambilton, is shot through the heart with a broad arrow.* In the *Shuttleworth Accounts*, under date September 1592, we find its cost—"a brode arrowe heide, ij^{d}."

As contrasted with these, we learn that there was a species of small arrows called sprights, "formerly used in sea-fights, which had wooden heads made sharp. These were discharged out of musquets, and passed through the sides of a ship where bullets could not enter." † This was not the sort of artillery employed by the naval archers under Lord Howard, in the early years of Henry VIII., who employed only the broad arrow and the "bearing arrow;"‡ nor do we find them used by Robin Hood in defending the vessel of the Scarborough fishermen. §

Arrow-head, (?) Iron.

The arrow was not necessarily barbed; and among the American Indians, the Chinese, and others who still use it, few are so at this day. But the heads were hard, and often of brightly polished metal. In the *Lyttell Geste* ‖ it is said—

> An hondred shefe of arrowes good
> The hedes burnyshed full bryght;

and the prophet Jeremiah, in treating of the destruction of Babylon, says¶—"Make bright the arrows, gather the shields," *i. e.*, prepare for attacking.

The arrow which was discharged by the long-bow was called a shaft; and it is in relation to the two great classes of arrows that we have the proverbial expression quoted by Shakspeare—"I'll make a shaft or a bolt on't." ** The archers in Ireland were obliged to prepare "twelve shafts of the

* Percy's Reliques, II., 209.

† Bailey's Dict.

‡ Carrying well; or perhaps a birring or whizzing arrow. See *Gloss.* to *Percy*, Vol. I., and the O. B. of *Sir Andrew Barton*.

§ The Noble Fisherman; or, Robin Hood's preferment, Ritson.

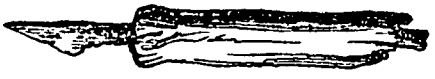
‖ Fytte II.; Gutch, I., 165.

¶ Jerem, li. 11.

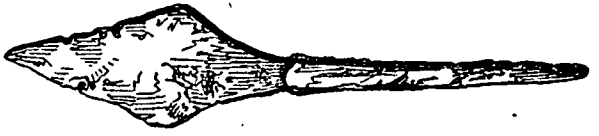
** Merry Wives, iii., 4.

length of three quarters of the standard;"* but in England they were usually three feet, or even a yard and a quarter. There are numerous allusions to these facts in our older literature.

Meyrick says, that about the time of Richard I. the shaft was made of a reed; and specimens from America, so constructed, are common at present. One, which was discovered in an Anglo-Saxon grave in Kent, appears to have been of reed;† and one of the knots still remains. The length of the whole is two inches. In the Royal Irish Academy there are several brass or bronze arrows with thin flat heads, spear-shaped;‡ and with "strigs" or "tangs" for insertion in the shaft. On the other hand, spears are sometimes arrow-shaped; for, on an ancient slab in Sligo Abbey, of date 1566, representing the crucifixion, a female on the left side of the cross is piercing the Saviour's side with a barbed arrow held in her left hand.§ Annexed is the head of an arrow with tang, having apparently a small portion of wood adhering to it.



Remains of Anglo-Saxon Arrow.



Arrow-head for insertion in the Shaft.

One of ours, fig. 3, appears to have been of this kind, but the nail part is broken off. The Abbé Cochet gives several shapes as having been in use in Normandy; some with broad

* Irish Statutes, 5 Ed. IV.

He had a bow bent in his hand,
Made of a trusty tree;
An arrow of a cloth-yard long,
Up to the head drew hee.
Chevy Chase, Mod. Ball.

When, rattling upon Flodden vale,
The cloth-yard arrows flew like hail.
Scott, Marmion, v. 1.

At Dartford, in 1496, the arrows of the Cornish insurgents "were in length a full cloth yard."—*Holinshed.*

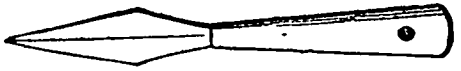
And every arowe an elle longe,
With pecocke well y dight.
Gutch's R. H., I., 161.

† Inv. Sep., 41.

‡ Wilde's Catalogue, p. 503.

§ Cutts, Plate lxxxiii.

flukes like our *phcon*, and others with sockets long and hollow like miniature spear-heads.* One of this kind, found in the grave of a child, is believed to have been a model or toy, and never actually employed with a bow; like the small implements which are frequently found in Denmark, Germany, and elsewhere; and like the "baby celts" of Ireland.



Arrow-head, probably a Toy.

3. *General Notes.*—Not unfrequently twelve arrows were stuck under the girdle; and hence the proverb, that an Englishman carried twelve Scotchmen under his belt, or occasionally twenty-four† were borne, with a corresponding difference in the saying.‡ These were carried in many ways, owing, no doubt, to differences in locality and in time. They are represented as worn over the left shoulder and over the right, at the right side of the belt and at the left, with the points projecting forward, and with the feathered ends forward. These may be seen in the ordinary illustrations; but it is interesting to notice that the archers of this part of the country carried them with the points directed behind, so that the feathers appeared to cover the left breast.§

Occasionally they were borne in a quiver, which was pendent, like the dagger, at either the right or left side; the earliest specimens of which appear to have been of basket work. Esau is directed to take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and go out to the field;‖ and of the horse it is said in Job, "the quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear, and the shield."¶ In *Layard's Illustrations* there are numerous

* La Normandie Souterraine, p. 22.

† He's taen four-and-twenty braid arrows,
And laced them in a whang, O;
And he's awa to Lady Margerie's bower,
As fast as he can gang, O.
Motherwell, p. 871.

"The Scottish, according to Ascham, had a proverb, that every English archer carried under his belt twenty-four Scots, in allusion to his bundle of unerring shafts."—*Scott.*

‡ Planche, 445.

§ Painting in the window of Middleton Church, Lancashire.

‖ Genesis xxvii., 3.

¶ Job xxix., 23.

quivers shown, and of very different degrees of excellence. Some, which lie scattered on the battle-field, are rude cases, with one large handle through which the belt passed; others, which are attached to the war-chariot, cross each other at right angles, each being inclined at an angle of 45°, and they are beautiful in appearance and elaborate in construction. The quiver was certainly used in Lancashire, and no doubt in Cheshire also, for we read in the *Shuttleworth Accounts* in May, 1588:—

towe shipe skynes to be an arrowe casse, x^{d}.

The archer of the mediæval period was like the rifleman of our own; and every parish had its butts, at which all within the military age were obliged to practise shooting. In the *Pictorial History of England* there is represented shooting at the butts with the crossbow;* but bows of various kinds were used. When Humphrey Brereton, a native of Malpas in Cheshire, carried the message and gold of Lord Derby, and the love-tokens of the Princess Elizabeth, over the sea† to Richmond, in the reign of Richard III., the porter of the abbey where the future king of England was staying, directed him to the shooting butts.‡ Curiously enough, the porter also was a Cheshire man.§

* II. 870, from a painting in Roy. MSS. 19 C. viii.

† Without all doubt at Liverpoole,
He took shipping upon the sea.
The Song of Lady Bessy, p. 28.

‡ I shall thee tell, said the Porter then,
The Prince of England know shall ye,
Low where he sitteth at the butts certaine,
With other lords two or three;
He weareth a gown of velvet black,
And it is cutted above the knee.—*Ib.*, p. 28.

In 1498, Finsbury-fields were converted into archery ground, and from a MS. in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, it appears that there were at one time 197 separate sets of shooting butts. The names and positions of most of them are given (*Proceedings*, IV., 53, &c.), with numerous details respecting the practice. The distances varied from eight score (160) yards, to twenty-one score (420), but these were extremes. Persons of twenty-four years of age were obliged to shoot at objects 220 yards distant; but by great strength and skill the arrow was occasionally sent much farther. One man shot a mile (1760 yards) at three flights, but this was a remarkable case. Between Bunhill-fields burying-ground and Finsbury Square, London, E.C., is a space still shown as the artillery-ground, the only relic of the clearance made in 1498.

§ The porter was a Cheshire man,
Well he knew Humphrey when he him see.
Ib. p. 27.

The formality of shooting is well depicted by Bishop Gawin Douglas in his *Paleys of Honour* :—

> And natheles, to schute he was begun
> And threw ane arrow in the are on hycht,
> Schewand his craft & his big bowis mycht
> That lowsit of the takill with ane spang,
> And sone betid, & in thar sichtis sprang.

The laws enacted respecting the practice of archery in Ireland have been noticed; but a few words may be added respecting it in the fifteenth century :—

Every Englishman resident in the country, or Irishman living amongst them, between the ages of 16 and 60, was to be provided with bow and arrows, under pain of a fine of 2d. per month. A gentleman on horseback was permitted to ride with his spear, provided all the males of his family were suitably equipped.* When any township had more than three resident householders, butts were to be established and a constable appointed. Here all the men so provided were to shoot at least three courses on every feast day, from the beginning of March to the end of July, or be fined ½d. per day.* A few years after, when bows became deficient in Ireland, it was enacted that every merchant importing goods to the extent of £100 should import £5 worth of bows, and so in proportion; otherwise he was to be fined to that extent.† Every person possessing goods to the value of £10 was to be provided with a bow and a sheaf of arrows; if his goods amount to £20 he must have a "Jack and Salet" in addition; if he possesses land to the value of £4 a year, he must further provide a horse; and all of the rank of esquires or upwards must provide "Jacke, Salet, bowe and arrowes," for every man daily resident in their houses.‡

Their value at this period is not stated; but, in 1554, the Smiths' Company of Coventry§ paid for "a braser and a schotying glove, viij^{d};" and in 1583, there was purchased in Lancashire‖—

> Towe sheffe of errowesse and a bowe, v^{s} vij^{d}.

The pheon and arrows in this collection are all mediæval.¶

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* 5 Edward IV., Chap. 4,
† 12 Edward IV., Chap. 2.
‡ 10 Hen. VII., Chap. 9.
§ Queen Jane and Queen Mary, 125.
‖ Shuttleworth Accounts, p. 5.
¶ J. Y. A.

4. *Flint Implements.*—Fig. 2 represents a flint arrow-head, and fig. 5 a flint knife or dagger; so that a few remarks on this subject are indispensable.

The implements of flint and stone certainly preceded those in metal; and both in ancient and modern times the most extraordinary results were produced by such rude tools.* The Patagonians have hardly yet emerged from the "stone period;" the New Zealanders did not possess metal within the memory of some of their own people; certain North American Indians acquired the use of metal within the present century, and some of them still know little of it; and it is said that in the days of Cortes the Chilians illustrated the stone period, and the Peruvians the bronze period. In 1844, an arrow-head was found near the centre of a log of Honduras mahogany, about fifteen inches from the outside: it lay parallel with the grain of the wood.† Also, in 1848, an arrow-point was found in an oak-tree which had fallen at Hoxne, in Suffolk, the place where Edmund, king of the East Angles, was slain by the Danes in 870. The oak was part of the tree to which tradition asserts the king was tied and shot at; and the arrow was found about five feet from the ground.‡

The arrow-head shown here indicates some advance in construction; for there were earlier and simpler forms, as the triangular arrow, and that with the hollow base.§ This belongs to the class called "stemmed," or inclining to the broad arrow, though one of its wings is slightly injured. The mode of producing instruments of this kind has often formed

* I possess several elegant specimens of New Zealand carving in wood, and also the greenstone chisel by which it was executed. "With rude and blunt stones, they felled the giant Kauri, toughest of pines; and from it, in process of time, at an expense of labour, ingenuity, and perseverance, frequently astounding to those who know what it really was, produced, carved painted and inlaid, a masterpiece of art and an object of beauty, the war canoe, capable of carrying a hundred men on a distant expedition, through the boisterous seas surrounding their island."—*Old New Zealand*, p. 101.

† Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, I., 283.

‡ Ib. I., 279.

§ Wilde's Catalogue, 19, 20.

a theme for discussion; but, as the process is performed every day in America, there is no secret about it. It proceeds in reality upon the principle of the division of labour. An old man has acquired the knack of chipping and preparing flints, and he does nothing else; the other members of his tribe fighting for him, and supplying him with the products of the chase.* Other hard substances are also employed, like the obsidian of the highlands near Mexico; and the Patagonians, who stole a bottle from on board a ship, were discovered a few hours afterwards converting the glass of it into arrow-heads.

There is a dagger in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy with a handle of moss, and one can understand that some such soft object would require to be wrapped round the object indicated by fig. 8.

Knives of flint are well known, long semicircular and of other shapes; and they were used, especially by the priests, as more sacred, long after the introduction of metal ones. The Jews to this day use flint knives in circumcision;† and this is precisely what the wife of Moses did on a similar occasion.‡ The Egyptians used similar knives in extracting the brains, the bowels, &c., in the process of embalming. It was probably with knives of this kind that the priests of Baal cut themselves when trying the power of their respective deities with Elijah;§ and, in cases of great grief, the same practices

* The skill displayed in this art, as it is exhibited by the tribes of the entire continent, has excited admiration. The material employed is generally some kind of horn-stone; but no specimens have been observed where the substance is gun flint. .... To break them, the Indian seats himself on the ground, and holds the lump on one of his thighs, interposing some hard substance below it. When the blow is given, there is a sufficient yielding in the piece to be fractured, not to endanger its being shivered into fragments. Many are, however, lost. Such is the art required in this business, both in selecting and fracturing the stones, that it is found to be the employment of particular men, generally old men, who are laid aside from hunting to make arrow and spear heads.—*Schoolcraft*, III., 467.

† Guide to Northern Archæology, Ellesmere, p. 37.

‡ Exod. iv. 25.

§ 1 Kings xviii. 28.

have existed among savage nations within our own times.* Attempts have been made, with more or less success, to manufacture flint objects in imitation of ancient ones, but many of the forgeries have been detected, and the operation could now be hardly remunerative. †

XVI.—SPEARS AND DARTS.—PLATE XXI.

Form of Dart.

DARTS of the smaller kind are often mistaken for arrows; but the latter were smaller in size, and the two were essentially different in the mode of their propulsion. The dart was thrown by the hand; and some, like the *asseghai* of South Africa, were of an intermediate size, suitable for a variety of purposes. They would serve to stab an enemy in close fight, or to kill a distant one; they might be used occasionally as a knife, and for other common purposes.

During the stone period, spear-heads were made of flint; and some examples to be found in our museums are large and beautiful. Those who could manufacture such a material as flint into fish-hooks, saws, and even combs, could much more easily produce long and graceful spear-heads; stemmed for more secure fastening in the handle, and barbed so as not to allow of easy retraction. Horn is a natural weapon of offence and defence; and we should therefore not be surprised to find it in use as a dagger or spear; yet its use for such a pur-

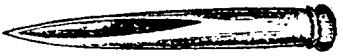
* In her right hand she held a piece of volcanic glass, as sharp as a razor; this she placed deliberately to her left wrist, drawing it slowly upwards to her left shoulder, the spouting blood following as it went; then from the left shoulder downwards, across the breast to the short ribs on the right side; then the rude but keen knife was shifted from the right hand to the left . . . . She had scored her forehead and cheeks before I came; her face and body were a mere clot of blood, and a little stream was dropping from every finger. . . . This custom has been falling gradually out of use; and when practised now in these degenerate times, the cutting and maiming is mere form, mere scratching to draw enough blood to swear by.—*Old New Zealand*, p. 62.

† See Archæolog. Journ., XII., 85, 184, 418; and Proceedings Soc. Ant., IV., 233, 246.

pose is rare. Occasionally the tine of a stag's horn seems to have served the purpose of a rude dagger; but it does not present sufficient facilities for sharpening.

1. *Bone Spears.*—Bone is one of the least promising materials for purposes of this kind. It is tubular, and formed for supporting; but unless one side be sharpened, as in the case of a large cane reed, it appears very ill suited to the purpose. Accordingly, examples of bone spears are rare; for, in the first place, they were only used by a primitive people, with whom metal was unknown or very scarce; and, in the second place, the material is very liable to decay. Still, in favourable situations, a few have been preserved; at the bottoms of rivers, in moorish soil, or in the deposit of mud on the sites of the lake habitations of Switzerland. The inferences which the circumstances of the case would dispose us to draw, are confirmed by the facts; bone spears are found in connection with objects of the stone period.

(*a*) Our largest specimen is drawn and engraved on a very small scale. It is really 9¾ inches long, and 1¼ in diameter.



Bone Spear from Ireland.

It was found four feet below the bottom of a river in the north part of King's County, in Ireland; and is now in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It has been formed by cutting off obliquely a portion of both sides of the bone, which is of a dark brown colour. It has a sort of circular neck at the part where it would be joined by the staff or handle; and it is penetrated by holes to secure its attachment.

(*b*) A large bone spear-head, somewhat smaller than that just noticed, was found in moorish soil in the parish of Sticks-wold in Lincolnshire, near the river Witham. It is 7¾ inches long, but it is drawn and engraved on a larger scale than the last. The socket is shallow, and in forming the spear the core of the bone has been entered as in the former case; so that there is a cavity on one side. There are rivet-holes near the bottom, showing how and where it was fastened to the shaft. The celebrated John Hunter decided that the bone was that of a

horse, but a very small one. The instrument was presented to the British Museum by Sir Joseph Banks, in December, 1811.

(*c*) The next, which is 6½ inches long, was found in the Thames. The socket is narrower, both absolutely and in relation to the length, than in that just described; and there are rivet-holes as before, showing the mode of its attachment to the handle. There is a similar cavity produced by the core of the bone being reached in the process of manufacture.* This one is possessed by A. W. Franks, Esq., Director of the Society of Antiquaries; and the large woodcuts are part of a set of eleven kindly lent me by the Society.

Bone Spear, from Lincolnshire.

Bone Spear, from the Thames.

2. *Iron Spears and Darts.*—With the Saxons the sword appears to have been comparatively rare, but spears and javelins were numerous. "So constantly do we find these weapons in the Saxon graves, that it would appear no man above the condition of a serf was buried without one."† Some are large, like the spear or pike of modern times, or like the spear of the ancient Scots; the characteristic of all which is, that it was retained by the person using it. Most of those found come under the head of javelins, or

* Proceedings S. A. (2nd series), I., 163.

† Mr. Roach Smith, in Introduction to Inv. Sep.

darts which were thrown. They have not a solid socket, nor have they the projecting irons called straps running down both sides of the shaft; but a simple longitudinal slit runs along one side of the socket for the shaft, and, after it was inserted, the whole was made fast in its place by rings and rivets. The accompanying illustrations, which are on a scale of one-third, will serve to show the form which the objects assumed; and in this case the longitudinal slit is very perceptible. In another example, there is no central rib along the blade, and the socket appears to have been broken off with the shaft; but the third, which is very elegant in form, appears to be complete, the socket being unusually graceful in appearance. Of the two which exist in this collection, and are represented on the Plate, figs. 5 and 7, both are small, for they are represented of the actual sizes. The latter is barbed like the darts known as *angons;* and the former is plain, but less tapering than any of the three represented here. Both have tubular sockets as distinct from cloven ones; and in both the whole length seems to be indicated, though there is a fracture on one side.

Head of a small Javelin.

Spear Head, with broken Socket.

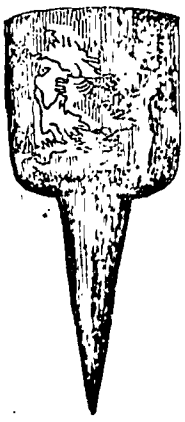
Spear Head, complete.

3. *Termination of Spear Handles.*—In heraldry, a Cross fitché was one which had its lowest and longest bar pointed, as if for the purpose of sticking it in the ground. It was usual for spears and even ordinary staves to have a spiked ferrule somewhat of the same kind; so that the spear, when leaning against a tree, a wall, or any other support, was securely fixed in the ground. When a spear or javelin is found in a grave, it is not unusual to come upon the head and ferrule at some distance from each other, but on the same side

of the skeleton; the intermediate line sometimes dark with the remains of decayed wood, showing the length of the shaft. The *pilum* had its ferrule as well as the *hasta*.

The annexed example shows a ferrule of brass with the spike of iron; so that the two were distinct from each other. From the position in which it was found, it is supposed that it belonged to a staff, part of the wood of which appears within it.

Ferrule of Staff.

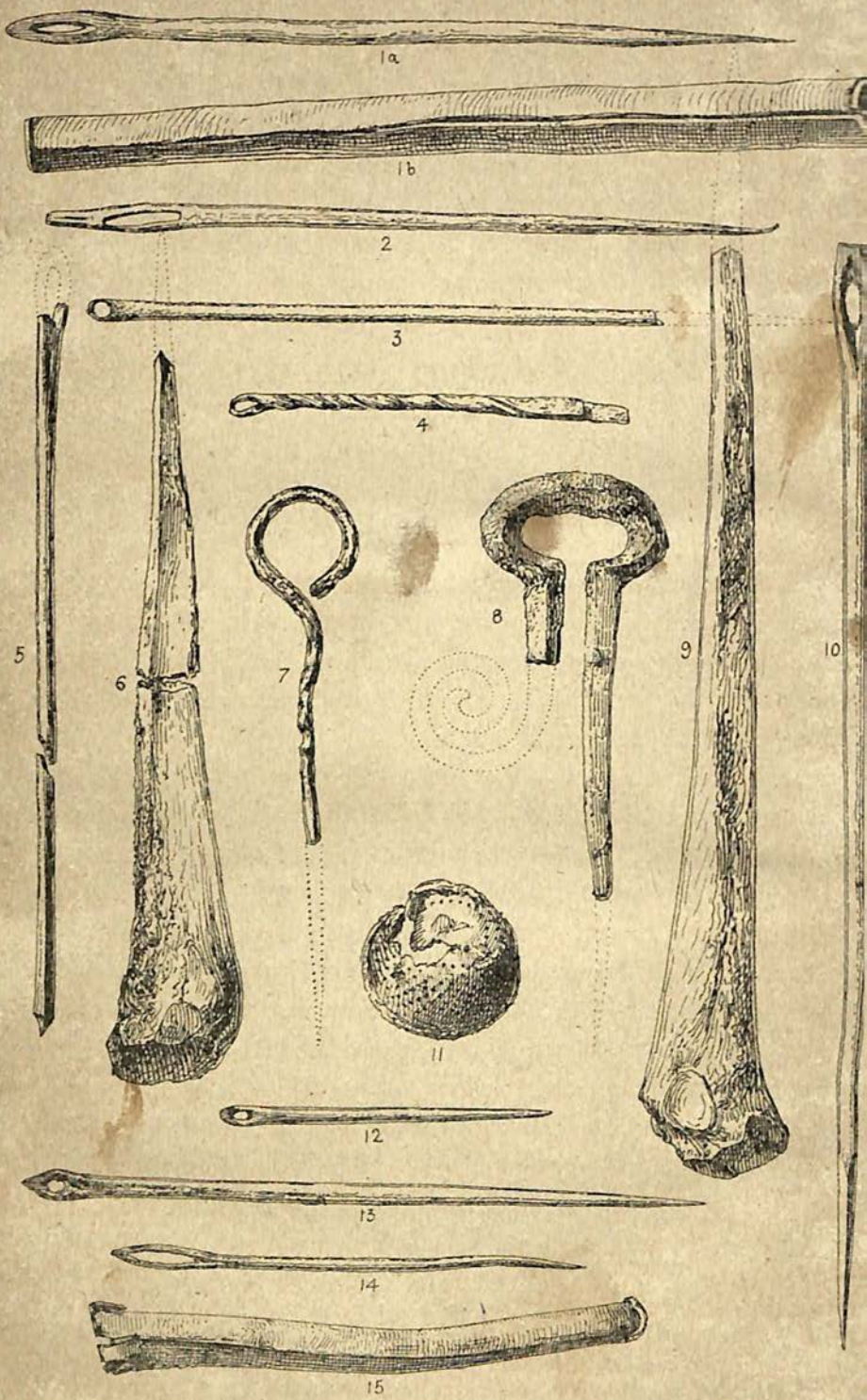

Large Ferrule of Spear.

The next is the ferrule and spike of a large spear, whose head, from the extremity of the point to the lowest part of the socket, was about twenty-one inches. Along with it were found two javelin heads, and two small ferrules of brass, which had in all probability belonged to them. Another grave contained the ferrule of a javelin lying in the usual position at the left side, and at the ordinary distance from the metal head. It is peculiar, as it shows the spike both internally and externally. One ferrule is somewhat conical in shape, but contains no spike. It was found near the feet, while the head of the javelin to which it belonged was near the knees. The whole implement, therefore, could not have exceeded two feet in length. This is iron, and about three inches long.* In smaller weapons, like that just noticed, the ferrule was like the lead or other weight at the end of a tilting-spear, so that when thrown it balanced the head, and preserved a more horizontal motion during the flight. The force with which such objects can be projected

Ferrule of Javelin.

Conical Ferrule of Javelin.

* A javelin like ours, Pl. XXI., fig. 7, with a ferrule like this, was procured from the river Witham, in Lincoln, about five or six years ago, and others of a similar kind are of occasional or frequent occurrence. — *Proceedings*, S. A., IV., 211.


1a
1b
2
3
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may be seen at the present day. An Australian savage will hurl a common wooden spear right through the neck of an ox; and he would of course produce greater results, or the same with more facility, by means of a spear pointed with metal. Nothing resembling any of these ferrules has been found among the Cheshire antiquities.

Common form of Ferrule.

XVII.—NEEDLES, NEEDLE-CASES, THIMBLES.—PLATE XXII.

1.—NEEDLES.

Double-pointed bronze needle, 1-3rd.

(1.) *Early use.*—Needles must have existed from a very early date, but of course they were of primitive construction. The Hebrew women occupied much of their time in embroidery,* as well as in spinning and weaving; and the directions for the construction of the Tabernacle, as well as of the robes of Aaron, show that skill in embroidery existed. The product of the needle was naturally costly, and therefore highly prized; so that, when occurring as spoil, it was the portion of the chieftain, and when as a present it was worthy of a king.† In our own country there were companies of "Broderers," or embroiderers, in London, Bristol, and Chester; but the needle had no place on their arms. The only instrument of their craft which appeared was that known as the Broche.‡ Among the nations of antiquity, the Phrygians were particularly celebrated for their gold embroidered work; so that the term *orphrey* work, which was common in the mediæval period, has descended to our own times. It indicated such decoration as was common on the garments of ecclesiastics, and is derived from *aurum Phrygianum.*

* Exod. xxvi., xxxvii., xviii., &c.

† Judg. v. 30; Psal. xlv. 14.

‡ A little pencil-looking object of metal or ivory, with a wedge-like point, containing a slit like that of a crochet needle.

(2.) *Material.*—Roman needles have been found at Richborough and Uriconium; and in the lake habitations of Switzerland several have been discovered both of bone and bronze. One of the latter kind is given at the head of this article.* In Mr. Roach Smith's collection of London Antiquities, there were several of bronze;† and a long one of the same material was found on the site of the Roman wall in the north, described by the Rev. Dr. Bruce. The Abbé Cochet has figured one, curved and tapering from a thick top,‡ about four inches long in all. It is similar to those carried by soldiers in modern times; and he supposes that in the mediæval period such needles may have served similar uses. In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy§ there are eighteen bronze needles, besides several others on "find" trays. In a Saxon tumulus at Kingston Down, in Kent, two brass needles were found by Faussett in 1771; and in the old poem, *Romaunt de la Rose*, translated by Chaucer, a beau is represented as using a silver needle.

(3.) *Varieties in structure.*—Some of those found at Uriconium have the eye placed in the middle (like that shown above), and a "double-pointed" one has been figured in like manner from the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen. Perforated pieces of bronze are also found in Scotland, which can have served only as needles. A needle very similar to ours was found in the ruins of Soburg. The ancient bone needles found in Switzerland are either straight or slightly curved; and they have occasionally two eyes at one end, that remote from the point. In one of them the head

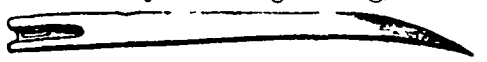
* Quand l'œil se trouve sur le milieu de l'instrument, les deux extremités de celui-ci sont pointues, comme on à déjà pu le remarquer sur les aiguilettes en os de Concise; mais le plus souvent l'œil circulaire, carré ou en losange, est sur le bout opposé à la pointe.—*Troyon's Habitations Lacustres*, p. 161.

† Catalogue, No. 345.

‡ Faut il rattacher à l'équipement militaire les aiguilles de bronze que l'on recontre de temps à autre dans nos sépultures. . . Nos militaires portent encore des épingles analogues. —*La Normandie Souterraine*, 257.

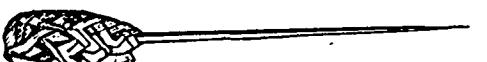
§ Wilde's Catalogue, 547.

or top has been grooved out on both sides, an operation which is technically called "guttering," that the thread or cord may present as little obstruction as possible while being drawn through the cloth.* In some instances the eye is near the point, as in modern needles used by saddlers. In a bog in the Isle of Skye, bronze needles have been found, along with portions of decayed textile fabrics;† and some of the needles in Mr. Roach Smith's collection contained a similar substance adhering to the eye.



Bone needle from Concise, Switzerland, ½ size.

(4.) *General Remarks.*—In the sewing of leather, and probably many kinds of cloth, a needle proper was not employed in the olden time, but a piercer; and the thread was passed through as a shoemaker or saddler passes his ends through still. Curious awls of stone and brass are found in various countries of Europe, but their exact use was not known till lately; the same implements are, however, used daily in the making of belts, leggings, mocassins,‡ wigwam-covers, &c., by the Indians of America. Schoolcraft§ figures a beautiful piercer, or awl, made of the thorn of the cactus, with a covering or handle to protect the hand; and also a needle of the same material which, when procured, had a piece of thread sticking in the eye of it. Large needles of metal were articles of great value at the time when they were rare; and they were carried about the person along with other valuables. In the *Archæologia* (XXXV. pl. xii.), two are represented as strung on a ring along with an ear-pick; they were found in an Anglo-Saxon burying-ground at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury. It is related that, at the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers



Piercer of Cactus Thorn.

Needle of Cactus Thorn.

* The example given in the text is guttered.

† Wilson, p. 328.

‡ Schoolcraft, I. 71; II. 90.

§ Ib., V. 93.

in North America, owing to some accident, there was but one needle at a particular settlement, and the housewives were obliged to hire it in rotation, so that it might be kept employed without intermission, night and day. The old play, entitled *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, written in 1565 by John Still, afterwards Bishop of Bath, shows that it was an implement of some importance to rustic people; but we may place in contrast with that fact the proverb "not worth a needle,"* nearly equivalent to our own "not worth a pin."

The manufacture of modern needles is said to have been introduced into England about 1565, by Elias Krause, a German; but like many other things, the history of whose manufacture is imperfectly known, they were called Spanish. Thus, in *Ford's Dramatic Works*, the needle is spoken of under the name of a "Spanish pike." It was usual for begging friars to carry them round the country, selling or exchanging them with housewives, just as travelling collectors of rags exchange pins and needles in the country in modern times. There is an allusion to this custom in *Barclay's Cytezen and Uplondysh Man* (1514), p. 32.

> We gyve wol & chese, our wyves coyne & eggs,
> When freres flatter & prayse theyr propre legges,
> For a score of pynnes, & *nedles* two or thre,
> A gentle Cluner two cheses had of me.

In the old play of *The Four P's*, the Pedlar is represented carrying in his pack "nedles, threde, thymbell, shers;" and in the *Ancren Riwle* a "sopare" is mentioned (soaper or pedlar),

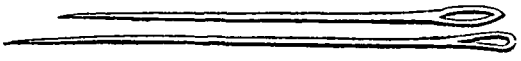
* In the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 400, occurs the expression "ne beoth nout wurth a nelde," (are not worth a needle.) In the *Towneley Mystery Plays*, written probably before 1400, Cayn is represented as saying in the play of "Mactatio Abel."—

> When alle mens corne was fayr in feld,
> Then was myne not worth a neld;
> When I shuld saw, & wantyd seyde,
> And of corne had fulle grete neyde,
> Then gaf he me none of his.
>
> *Surtees Soc. Edn*, p. 11.

In our old English literature *neeld* and *neld* are commonly used for needle; and the indefinite article takes the consonant with it, or drops it, as *an eld, a narm, a nolde* man. In the *Ancren Riwle*, which is a semi-Saxon monastic code of the thirteenth century, "nelde prikunge" occurs, p. 184; and "A wummon hath forloren hire nelde," p. 324, (a woman hath lost her needle.)

"that ne bereth buten sope and nelden" (that carries but soap and needles).

5. *Needles in this Collection.*—These in number are about eleven, and are all of bronze. They vary in length from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; and are evidently different also in their dates and mode of construction. In some the eye is circular,* in this respect resembling those found in France; in others it is longitudinal.† The point appears to have been formed by hammering rather than by grinding. In fig. 10, the chisel-shaped object which pierced the eye, appears to have been used to give a slight "guttering." From the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, two bronze needles are figured, in which longitudinal eyes have been punched. The construction of 1*a* is visible, and is very curious. It is formed of extremely thin metal, hammered up into a solid mass; and it shows the seam or junction throughout nearly its whole length. The point might have been formed by narrowing the rectangular slip of metal before it was hammered. The head, or upper end, was then flattened, and an eye punched in it.



Bronze Needles, Irish.

6. *Modern Needles.*—A few words may be said on modern needles; especially as the sewing machine threatens to transfer them to the cabinet of the antiquary in less than another century. It has called into existence the manufacture of a peculiar needle, and of other instruments for its own use. The manufacture of needles is identified with several places in England, *e. g.*, Whitechapel in London, Hathersage in Derbyshire, the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and especially Redditch in Worcestershire. I have also been informed by a Redditch manufacturer, that needles were made in Chester about seventy or eighty years ago, and that a man who had worked there died at an advanced age in his own employment.

* Pl. XXII., 3, 12, and 13.

† Pl. XXII., 1*a*, 5, 10, and 14.

It may be sufficient to enumerate a few of the processes. The circular wire is cut into double lengths, and is then straightened and stamped in the middle, so as to form two needles inverted. The eyes are pierced through; the burr or projection is then filed off; the two are separated; and then follows hardening, straightening, tempering, burnishing, finishing, &c. Where the division of labour is complete, the processes amount to more than thirty in all. Out of fourteen pounds of wire, so many as 48,100 needles are made at Redditch, of which only three per cent. are broken, and unfit for use. The remainder, 46,700, are suitable for commerce and domestic use.

2.—Needle-Cases.

These are mentioned in connexion with the needles found in Denmark; and a Roman needle-case, found near Carlisle, is described by the Rev. Dr. Bruce. Faussett found, at Kingston Down, with the two needles which have been mentioned, a little needle-case, which is engraved in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.* It was a brass cylinder, and a small piece of cloth which wrapped it round, and seemed to join the top, was still undecayed. A peculiar needle-case is engraved by Mr. Smith; it is about three inches square, and its sides are covered with grotesque figures. Chaucer represents a gallant as possessing a needle-case, and using it to complete his toilet before going to the country; and Strutt engraves his portrait, in illustration of the costume of the thirteenth century, from the frontispiece to an edition of the French poem.

> A sylver nedyl forth I drowe,
> Out of an *aguiler* queint ynow,
> And gan this nedyl threde anon,
> For out of towne me lyste to gon.
> . . . With a threde bastyng my slevis
> Alone I went.
>
> *Rom. of the Rose*, l. 97.

In an *English Vocabulary* of the thirteenth century, the following entry occurs—

Hec agnaria, a *nedyl-hows*.*

In the present collection there are five needle-cases, two of which are figured here. That which is marked 1*b* was found near the needle 1*a*, and was probably used to contain it; for it allows, besides the needle, merely a plug or stopper of wood. They are all constructed on a uniform and very simple plan. A rectangular piece of thin metal like pasteboard, has been bent into a roll or cylinder; and two notches having been cut out at one end, the bottom is turned up upon the sides. In another example, not engraved here, the needle and needle-case were evidently adapted to each other.

3.—Thimbles.

Only two or three have been found, all of which are very imperfect. One of them, apparently of bronze, is figured, fig. 11. It is evidently much more modern than the needles. This tends to corroborate Alexander Neckam,† who speaks of thimbles as made of leather in his time, probably of *cuir-bouilli*.

XVIII.—HAIR-PINS, PIERCERS, &c.—Plate XXII.

1. *Needle-shaped Pins.*—The same word *acus* served among the ancients to denote a needle, a pin, and a piercer or bodkin; it also indicated the tongue of a buckle. The various objects were therefore associated in name. They were also associated in use; as the needle, the breast-pin, and the hair-pin, approximated so closely in construction that they were sometimes undistinguishable. Among antiquities they are frequently mistaken for each other, so that this subject naturally holds an intermediate place between the needle and the pin proper.

The implement which was related to all the three was a skewer, with a perforation at the end remote from the point,

* Mayer's Vocab., p. 199. The same term occurs in a *Nominale* of the fifteenth century, thus: — Hoc acuare, a *nedyl-hows*. Ib., p. 232.

† Mayer's Vocabularies, 101.

and its chief use appears to have been as a hair-pin, the hole being adorned with a fluttering ribbon. The mode of using it is depicted by Montfaucon; and his engraving, which appears in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, has been placed side by side with an example sketched by Mr. Fairholt at Coblentz.* A very plain bone pin, engraved from *Dr. Wilde's Catalogue*,† appears to have been employed for this purpose. The head is very simple, and ornamented by diagonal lines. It is given here of full size.

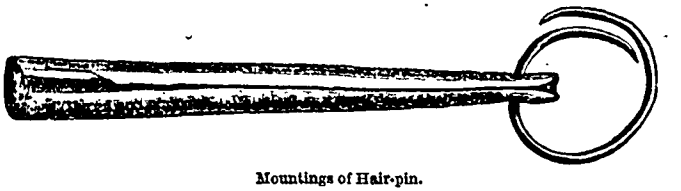
Bone Hair-pin.

A hair-pin of this kind was in Mr. Roach Smith's collection with a medallion on the head, and the slit or eye near the point.‡ A needle-pin of bronze is engraved in the Account of the Fairford Graves, Plate ix., fig. 7. There is a hole at the top, and a ring of wire through it. Among some Anglo-Saxon antiquities at Barrow Furlong, in Northamptonshire, five such hair-pins were discovered, one of them having a ring of brass wire inserted in the hole. They were a little more or less than four inches long, and, from the thickness of the head of each, it could never have been used as a needle. One of them was of bone. Needle-pins of the same kind have been found in Scotland. §

Besides the modern use of the needle-pin for the hair in Germany, I noticed a similar object in silver, large and beautiful, in the International Exhibition of 1862. It formed part of the local collection of the Ionian Islands, and is worn by the women there.

2. *Pins with Loops and Rings.*—In 1857 Mr. Akerman exhibited the mountings of a hair-pin, found among Saxon remains at Broughton Poggs, Oxon, with a ring through the top. He also advanced evidence to show that the hair-pin was a

* Journal Arch. Assoc., vol. IV. 47.
† Wilde, p. 333.
‡ Catalogue of London Ant., p. 63.
§ Wilson, p. 328.



Mountings of Hair-pin.

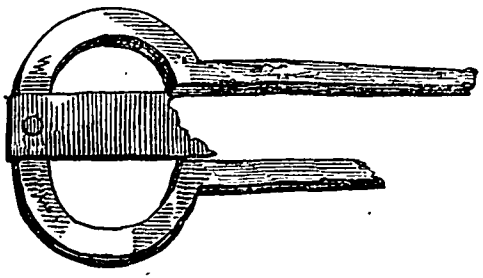
distinction of the matron, while unmarried women permitted the hair to float *in capillo*.* The mounting of a hair-pin, whose stem had perished, was also found with some Anglo-Saxon remains, by the late Mr. J. M. Kemble, in North Wilts. The material was bronze.† In one which has been engraved, from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Brighthampton, Oxon, the use of the ring inserted at the top is apparent. In the grave of a girl, a taper bronze hair-pin, six inches long, was found, and the ring at the top had suspended a little tassel of thin bronze, with seventeen circles punched on each side.‡ In some remarkable objects from Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburg, a number of small human figures were attached to a miniature chariot. All the females have their ears bored, and remains of ear rings; and at the back of the head of each there is a loop or ring, showing that something ornamental had been suspended there.

Among the objects related, may be mentioned the hair-pin. Plate XXII., fig. 7, which, instead of an eye, has a loop formed of the material itself. It has suffered by fracture, but its general design is obvious. Fig. 9 denotes an instrument the precise uses of which are unknown. The fragment of it shown here resembles a portion of an ordinary Jew's harp; but hair-pins of a similar kind are known in Denmark, one side serving for insertion, and the other for decoration. The form suggested by the dotted lines is taken from an engraving in *Worsaæ's Afbildninger, &c.*

The annexed curious object was found at Sibertswold Down, in a woman's grave; but, as it was of iron, it was found

* Proceedings Soc. Antiq., IV., 74.
† Archæologia, XXXVII., p. 114.
‡ Ib. XXXVIII., 97.

impossible to preserve it. Mr. Roach Smith suggests that it was a buckle; but may it not have served as an *acus crinalis*, or hair-pin of an unusual form?



Object of doubtful purpose.

Pins generally.—The Roman hair-pins which have been found at various places, and on various occasions, are usually of bone or bronze. The former are more rudely manufactured, and the latter more elegantly. The bronze ones are also more slender in their structure, as mass of material was not necessary to give them strength.* Several of those found at Uriconium † are thick in the middle, as if to prevent the possibility of their being readily lost, and some of them still retained, when they were found, traces of the oil with which they had been smeared when in use. Some of the hair-pins in Denmark ‡ were double, the two parts being united by a chain or a long link, like the modern cravat pin, known as the "union pin." There is an example from Beech Downs, in the Londesborough collection.§ A bronze pin, found in Ireland, about three and a half inches long, is thick in the middle, and has a cup-shaped head, like the cusped ornaments common in that country. Numerous other curious pins, so large as to have probably been used for the hair, but possibly also for the dress, are noticed in Archæological volumes.

In the grave of a woman was found a small brass hair-pin, with head thin and flat, and with cross-marks, like a minutely divided inch measure.

* Antiquities of Richboro', p. 85.
† Guide to Uriconium, p. 71.
‡ Worsaæ's Afbildninger, p. 46.
§ See Antiquities of Lymne, Plate viii., and Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. xxxi.

Brass Hair-pin.

A long and graceful hair-pin of bronze was found near Bicester, several feet below the surface, while digging for the railway. It has a small bead of white glass at the top, held by claws. In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy is a decorated bone pin. At the head it is perforated with five holes, and is an interesting example of what is called the circular domino ornament, common to bone objects. It is seven and a half inches long, but is here represented on a reduced scale. It was found in the river Shannon.

Bone Pin from the Shannon.

In my own possession there are several large pins, nine and ten inches long. They are of ordinary thick wire, with metallic heads the size of a small pea, or with dark glass beads for heads, or with heads of spiral wire, about the size of those of modern pins. Along with them is a piece of doubled wire fifteen inches long, forming what is technically called in modern times a "hair-pin," of half this length. The whole of these were used, about eighty years ago, in fixing the high projections of hair and cushions which were worn on ladies' heads.

Pin from Bicester.

The object engraved fig. 4, Plate XXII., is probably an ear-scoop or part of a pair of tweezers; but it was grouped for engraving in consequence of the form of its eye, as no inference could be drawn with certainty respecting its other extremity.

Two articles of bone are primitive in their character. They have evidently answered the purpose of bodkins* or piercers,

* The bodkin was among the miscellaneous articles sold to ladies, as mentioned in the O. P. by Martin Parker, *Harry White his Humour*. It was also used in dressing the hair, and frequently had a needle form. "A bodkine or fine instrument that women curle their heare withall, it may be called a friseling iron. A bodkine or big needle to crest the

or have possibly served as hair-pins, or skewers for very coarse and common dresses.

With the exception of the two pieces of bone, figs. 6 and 9, all the objects on this plate are brass or bronze. Perhaps that is the reason why the instrument denoted by fig. 8 has been preserved so well as compared with Mr. Faussett's. Figs. 1*a* and 1*b* were drawn in 1847 from some of the earliest articles procured, viz., those belonging to Mrs. Longueville. Figs. 7, 8, and 12, denote objects in my own collection. Figs. 5, 13, and 14, others in Mr. Smith's; and the eight remaining objects belong to Mr. Mayer.

XIX.—PINS.—PLATE XXIII.

1. *Material.*—Though this object is so small, and commercially so valueless, it has become practically a necessary of civilization. It is now manufactured in quantities so large as to be scarcely credible, and the numbers used, injured, thrown aside, or lost, are equally great; yet when pins were manufactured singly, like nails, each one was an object of great importance.

The primitive pins—namely, spines of a thorn—which have already been noticed, were used until recently by poor women in Wales. They were scraped and dried, and called *pin draen.** Wooden pins also were employed for personal use, and a hair-pin of this material has been found among the Roman remains at Uriconium.† Pins of horn were also occasionally employed before the common use of metal pins; and one, believed to be of this material, was found in a primitive wood coffin in East Yorkshire.‡

Pins of bone, nearly the thickness of an ordinary ivory pen-

heares."—*Fleming.* "An utensil women roll their hair on."—*Bailey.* The bodkin or piercer of cloth, possessed its name in common with the dagger; and in this latter sense the term is found in Chaucer, Shakspeare, and numerous other writers. The term "stiletto" has become more common in our own day, to denote an implement for ladies' work, and this also includes the dagger.

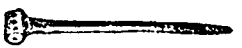
* Harland's Notes to the Shuttleworth Accounts.

† Wright's Guide, p. 71.

‡ Wright's Essays, I., 139.

holder, are found in large numbers at Roman stations,* and also in British barrows and Saxon burial-places. A few days ago, I inspected a large number which had been found with Roman fibulæ at Lincoln. Pins made from the bone of the ox, and a ruder and smaller one from the bone of the sheep, were found among some Celtic relics at Orkney;† also in a cinerary urn at Ballidon Moor.‡ Among Roman remains they have been found in large numbers; some very curious ones at Richborough, others at Boxmoor, Herts, and at Uriconium.§ Bone pins have been found in Kent, and are preserved among the articles of the Faussett collection. Large ones, called spindle-pins, supposed to have been used as spindles or knitting-pins, were also found, along with a carved reed, in the graves of the Allemanni, at Oberflacht in Swabia.‖ They are also frequently found in Switzerland.¶

The annexed beautiful little ivory pin was found with a small brass buckle and attachment, two knives, a knife-sheath, a javelin, and an urn. It was evidently employed in connection with male attire, as this could not be a woman's grave.



Small Ivory Pin.

Iron pins were common till lately among the lower orders, and may be so still; but the material being corrosive, many of the ancient specimens have no doubt perished. Before the introduction of the Poor-Law system into Ireland, that is to say, before the last twenty-five or thirty years, skewers were very common among Irish beggars, for fastening the blanket or large shawl by which a child was suspended on the back. An iron skewer was found at Caerwent nine inches long, with a ring at one end, but whether it had been used in fastening the dress is not known.**

Pins, consisting of a single strip of copper, exist in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, and others of simple construction of brass or bronze. Every degree of artistic skill is exempli-

* Archæological Journal, VIII., 35.
† Archæologia, XXXIV., 135.
‡ Reliquary, II., 62.
§ Wright's Guide, p. 86, and Pl. xi.
‖ Archæologia, XXXVI., 147.
¶ Troyon's Habit. Lacus., Plate vii. figs. 1, 2, 3, 11.
** Archæologia, XXXVI., 430.

fied, up to the highest style of ornamentation. As bronze or brass pins are so well known, only a slight allusion to them is necessary.

Small brass pins, for linen or other clothing material, have been found in the ancient British barrows, and Celtic pins of brass at Orkney.* Along with the Roman bone pins just noticed, bronze or brass ones were also found at Boxmoor, Herts. Curious and interesting pins of this material have been found at various places in Ireland. One from Randalstown, near Antrim, has two animal heads on the ring which passes through the top;† and another from the same county, with a twisted ring nearly large enough for an armlet, and with a pin nearly three inches long, exhibits signs of gilding, and has a hollow for the admission of a gem.‡ A large number of others, of great variety of patterns, was found at Ballinass Bay, in the county of Donegal.§ A square bronze pin, pointed at both ends, is figured by M. Troyon,‖ and those with ornamented heads are numerous.

Of Anglo-Saxon pins, one was found by Kemble in North Wilts, and several were found in Kent. It is said that metal pins like ours are first mentioned in the statutes of 1483; but that it was sixty years after before the manufacture of them was established in England.

2. *Forms.*—The forms which they assumed may be seen from some of the following figures, which allow us to compare them with those in the present collection. The two pins annexed are both of brass, and resemble ours, figs. 4 and 5 respectively. It will be observed that one of them, like our fig. 4, becomes thicker near the point, and that the other has a solid spherical head. They were found in the same grave along with a knife, a piece of iron, some linen cloth, and part of an urn. The next example is one with a thin flat head, and with ornamental cross lines

Brass Pins, like 4 & 5, Pl. XXIII.

Flat-headed and pyramidal.

* Archæologia, XXXIV., 95.

† Ulster Journal of Archæology, IV., 269.

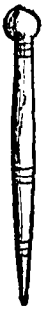
‡ Ib. V., 157.

§ Ib. VI., 351.

‖ Habit. Lacus., Pl. viii., fig. 19.

apparently running round it. This pin appears to be not cylindrical but square, or rather not conical but pyramidal. It was found in a woman's grave with beads, near the neck of the skeleton, and a box at the feet. A fourth brass pin, with pyramidal head, was also found in a woman's grave; along with it was a needle-case like ours, Plate XXII., fig. 1*b*, and two needles like ours, Plate XXII., figs. 1*a* and 2, together with a piece of linen, which apparently enclosed the top of the needle-case. A fifth brass pin, with three cross marks at three places, was found beside the head of a middle-aged person.

With pyramidal head.



Brass Pin, with triple marking.

A silver pin, somewhat resembling the third of these examples, was found in one of the Anglo-Saxon graves of Kent. It is flat-headed, and marked by cross lines beneath the head, and towards the point. It was in a woman's grave, accompanied by ear-rings, precious stones, &c.* Another elegant little one of silver gilt, with a hole in its flatted head, and a rope-like pattern running down the whole of its stem, was also found in a woman's grave. She appears to have been a person of distinction, as along with it were found a chatellaine, ear-rings, beads, a comb, armlets of ivory and brass, a knife and sheath, shears, bead, chain, &c. These last two examples remind us of the allusions to the "siller pin" in the old ballads, which was not altogether a poetic exaggeration.†

Silver pin.

Small Pin of silver gilt.

Chaucer's monk, who appears to have been very dressy for a churchman, used a pin of gold; but pins of that metal were very rare, and were seldom alluded to in our old English literature.

> And for to fasten his hood under his chinne,
> He hadde of gold ywroght a curious pinne. ‡

* Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 43.

† Oh had I wist before I kist,
That love had been sae ill to win,
I had locked my heart with a key o' gowd,
And pinned it wi' a siller pin.
O. B. The Marchioness of Douglas.

‡ Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

They were sometimes worn even in church, if the old ballad of *Proud Lady Margaret* be true :—

> When you are in the gude kirk set,
> The gowd pins in your hair,
> Ye tak mair delyte in your feckless dress
> Than in your morning prayer.

John de Garlande,* in the early part of the thirteenth century, describes the *Aurifabri* as manufacturing pins, "spintera."† Many of these, as we see, were not unlike the tongues of brooches, or "buckle brooches;" and such things are manufactured at present with hinges attached, that they may be soldered on to the brooches of various materials which are currently manufactured.

3. *Uses.*—The two great purposes for which pins were employed, were to fasten the dress and the hair. Judging from the practice of modern times, we should infer that the smaller pins were employed exclusively for the former purpose, and the larger for the latter; but this is not quite correct. A very small pin, like the example of silver gilt just given, was probably employed in connecting the dress, but so were also large ones approaching in size to skewers. A particular class of hair-pins, bearing some relation to needles, has already been noticed; but of those shown here as examples of brass pins, probably every one was an *acus crinalis*, or hair-pin, for in every instance they were found by the side of the skull. The larger silver pin was also found by the skull.

At Long Wittenham, in Berks, several minute pins were found along with bones in an urn, and one was bent back as if for the fastening of a cloak.‡ In the clerical dress, the pall was fastened to the chesuble by means of small gold pins. A large pin of this kind, with an ornamental head, forms part of the armorial bearings of the see of Canterbury. From all this, it is evident that we can only indicate in general terms

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* Mayer's Vocab., p. 128.

† Explained thus, "Spincter dicitur *espingle*," elsewhere.

‡ Archæologia, XXXVIII., 34.

the uses to which pins were applied in mediæval and earlier times, and probably one, as has been suggested, served various purposes at various times.

The style of dress in the seventeenth century, and the use of pins in connection with it, may be seen by a quotation from the old play of *Lingua,* by Anthony Brewer, 1607:—

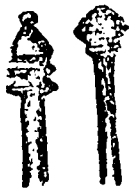
"Five hours ago, I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman, but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning,* unpinning, setting, unsetting, formings and conformings; such stir with sticks and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, ties, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, fillets, croslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet he's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shoe-ties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops, nay, all Sturbridge fair, will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far than a gentlewoman made ready."

4. *Ornamentation, &c.*—The following are examples shewing various styles, and the form of the heads, and the manufacture of the stems. It will be seen that in some instances they are very simple, in others somewhat complicated. The stems are sometimes flat and sometimes round; and, when decorated, the decoration extends downwards to about one-third of the length. This is the part which appeared along with the head, the rest being concealed in the dress. In some, the lower third of the pin is quadrangular, as if to present a difficulty in withdrawing it; and in some there is a knob about one-third the length from the top, as if to prevent the insertion of the pin beyond that point. The following eight specimens are taken from *Wilde's Catalogue* of the Royal Irish Academy's collection, where they are figured and described, p. 556. The two examples shewn

* In the old play, *Harry White his Humour,* the following occurs—

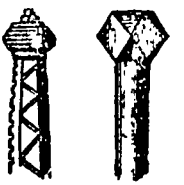
Fortunio. What hast thou there?

Medusa. Cawls, gorgets, hairs, powders to make a ball,
Valentia gloves and Venice rolls, to rub the teeth withal,
Laces, purses, rings, busks, wires, and glasses fine,
Bracelets, perfumes, still'd waters, sops in wine,
Pins, bodkins, stays, and other kinds of stuff.



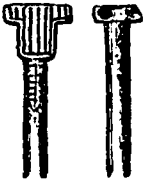
Irish Pins, conical headed.

here, have both conical heads and plain stems. In the former, the cone stands upon a double ring, and is surmounted by a knob; in the latter, it stands upon a single ring, and is chequered like the slates or tiles of a house. The next two examples shew one pin with ornamented stem, notched at the sides, and with an indented line passing downwards. Its head consists of a series of rings, like little terraces. The second of this pair has a multangular head like ours, figs. 7, 8, 9, and 11, but the facets are plain; whereas, in the examples on Plate XXIII., they are all ornamented. A more elegant example than any of these existed among the objects first discovered; it had a large multangular head, every facet of which was carved with little circles and centres, but it was unfortunately lost. In the next pair we have a diamond-shaped head, with a knob at each corner, and a chequered panel in the centre; also a ribbon-shaped head, with something which may have been the sun in the centre. The next pair have flat horizontal heads, but each is slightly ornamented. The former is thickened near the top, and decorated, both by perpendicular lines and by a few faint cross lines, on the stem. The latter has two double circles on the side of its head. Several curious pins from Denmark are engraved in the *Afbildninger;* one with a head like the beak of a bird, and tapering down to half the length of the stem, appears in *La Normandie Souterraine;** and a third class with a crutched head, from the barrows at Aymesbury and Brigmilstone, North Wilts.†



Irish, with terraced and multangular heads.

Irish, with diamond and circular heads.



Flat-headed pins, Irish.

5. *General Remarks.*—Quotations respecting the mode of

* P. 378.

† Hoare. Quoted in Akerman's Archæol. Index, p. 56.

procuring pins have been given in the chapters referring to Knives and Needles. It appears, too, from the *Millers Tale*, that they were regarded as a valuable present, and sometimes sent as love-tokens.

> He woeth hire by menes and brocage,
> And swore he wolde ben hire owen page;
> He singeth brokking as a nightingale,
> He sent hire pinnes, methe, and spiced ale.*

In the *Request and Suite of a True-hearted Englishman*,† the writer speaks contemptuously of articles imported from abroad. He says:—

"We pay well for oure manyfolde bables that we bye of them, and so force us to seke upon them to take oure cloth (which they wolde sew to us for if we wolde once be wyse), and conveygh oure fyne gold and sylver out of this realme, to gyve them theyr owne askyng for theyr pynnes, theyr paynted papers, head clothes for women, with fore sleves and neckercheles, glasses, hobbeyhorses, babies for our children, and a thousand such like thingis which all we myght well forbear."‡

Some of them were obtained from Milan; for pins were included among the articles brought by the London Company of Hurriers or Milliners.

In July, 1621, two thousand pins cost twentypence, or at the rate of a penny a hundred;§ so that the manufacture had already been greatly cheapened. This circumstance gave origin to the expression, "Not worth a pin," or the four hundredth part of a penny. In the *Interlude of the Disobedient Child*, 1560, is the following:—

> Wherefore then I pray ye shall we go to our inne,
> And look that every thinge be made redye,
> Or els all is not worth a brasse pynne.‖

In Shakspeare we have more than one allusion to the subject:—

> Why, what should be the fear?
> I do not set my life at a pin's fee.
>
> *Hamlet*, i. 4.

* Canterbury Tales, l. 3378.

† By William Cholmeley, Londyner, 1553.

‡ Camden Miscellany, Vol. II.

§ Shuttleworth Accounts.

‖ Percy Society's edition, p. 24.

My wretchedness unto a row of pins,
These commoners will talk of state.
Rich. II., iii. 4.

In the old play of *Band Ruffe and Cuffe*, in which there are numerous puns upon the articles of dress, the following occurs :—

Cuffe.—Mrs. Stitchwel, the sempster, was the very maker of you both, yet that little doe you regard her; but it is the common custome of you all, when you come to be so greate as ye are, ye forget from what house you come.

Ruffe.—'S 'foot, Ruffe careth not a pin for her.

Bande.—Nor Band a button.

In the old ballad of Harpalus,* it is said :—

For Colin was her onely joye
Who forst her not a pinne.

We have also the trifling value of a pin alluded to in the old proverb "A pin a-day 's a groat a-year," which would be nearly at the rate of a penny per hundred. Of the poems of Alexander Arbuthnot, of Scotland, the *Miseries of a Pure Scolear* was written in the middle of the sixteenth century. He says :—

All costlie clayths I compt nocht worthe ane preine,†
Quhilk dois bot foster pryde & vanitie.‡

In Dr. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the author shows in his first chapter, under the head of "Division of Labour," some of the detailed processes in the manufacture of a pin. He says it is divided into about eighteen distinct operations; though, in small factories, more than one are performed by one person. He had examined a small factory where there were only ten hands employed, yet they made about 48,000 pins per day, or 4800 each; though, if one man had performed all the processes, he could not have made twenty, if so many.

* Percy's Reliques, II., 73.

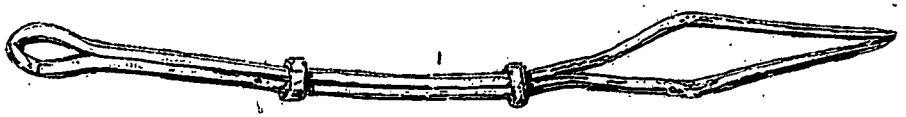
† Preen is the Scotticism for pin, derived from the Saxon. Thus, in the O. B. of *The Young Tamlane.*

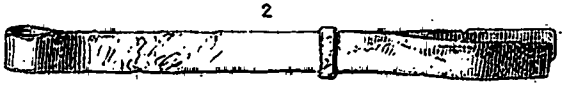
She has prinked herself and preened herself
By the se licht o' the mune.

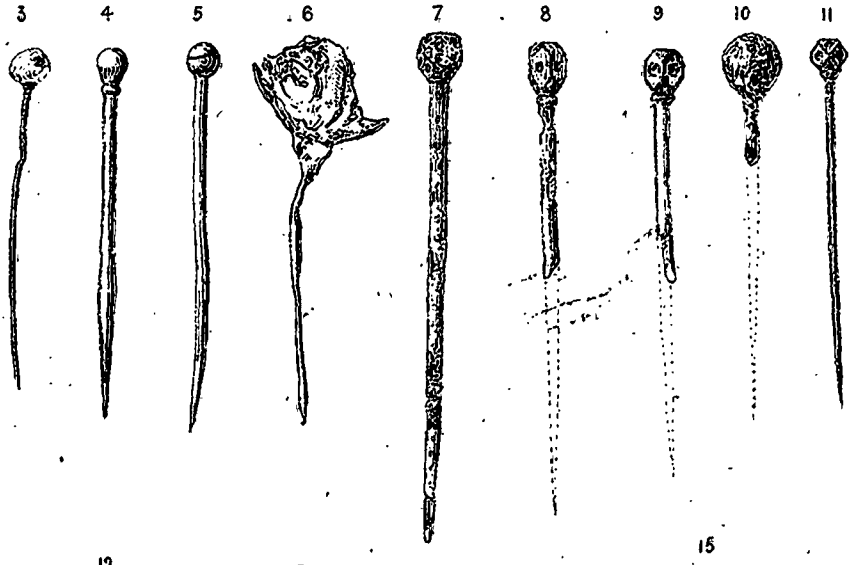
"Preen in eien," a pin in the eyes.
Ancren Riwle, 84.

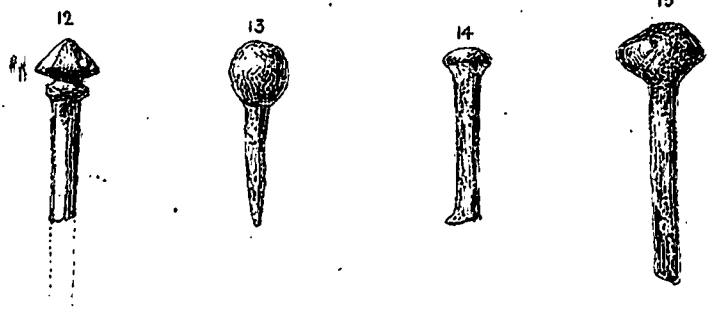
See Note on "ear-preon," in the article Ear-rings.

‡ Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, III., 333.









FOR DR HUME'S HOYLAKE ANT

J.E WORRALL, LITH

In England alone, there are about ten tons of wire consumed weekly in the manufacture of pins; and, assuming that there are 4000 of average size in a pound, this is equivalent to nearly ninety millions weekly, or 4,659,200,000 annually. In one of the papers in the *Spectator*, written in February, 1711-12, Addison makes merry with what is known to ladies as "pin-money." Mrs. Fribble has an allowance of £400 a-year under this head, and he calculates from the data "a pin a-day 's a groat a-year," that she must have used 8,640,000 new pins annually. He suggests that, as such money is used for many other purposes, the idea of industry might be introduced by calling it "*needle*-money."

Fig. 3 has a glass head, like the long one given under "hair-pins, &c.," and pins of this kind were far from rare. The hair-pin of bronze, given on p. 225, with a small bead of white glass at the top, was found in 1850 near Bicester, seven feet below the surface.* Figs. 4 and 5 have been already noticed, and fig. 6 is remarkable, as its head, when complete, appears to have been a circular plate. Figs. 7 and 11 are complete; but figs. 8, 9, 10, are fragments only. The decoration of the stem of fig. 7 is very peculiar, and suggests what fig. 13, Plate V., may have been.

There are 29 pins of this kind in the collection altogether; 6 of my own, 8 of Mr. Smith's, and 15 of Mr. Mayer's. They are all brass or bronze. Of the objects engraved, fig. 9 is from one of my own specimens, and all the others are from those of Mr. Mayer. They are mediæval.†

XX.—TWEEZERS, RIVETS, AND NAILS.—Plate XXIII.

1.—Tweezers.

There is no doubt that the ancient Saxons used tweezers extensively; and, when the process of shaving was difficult, such articles were frequently very convenient. Tweezers are

* Proceedings, S. A., II., 202. | † C. R. S.

more usually found in connection with mortuary urns than with body burial; and, in graves of the latter kind, the greater number have been found in connection with the remains of women.* Several have been found in the Kentish graves; also at Fairford, Chessell, and Little Wilbraham; and in other countries of Europe as well as in our own. The form was not very varied. Sometimes a single slip of metal was bent into the required shape, and sometimes, as in the examples here, the two sides were retained by a ring, like that of a crayon holder. At Long Wittenham, in Berkshire, tweezers were almost invariably found with remains of women, only one pair having been found with the remains of a man. These hung at his waist, near the iron ferrule of a spear, and a knife.† In the summer of 1860, another pair of bronze, very small, was found in an urn, with calcined human bones, and some other metallic objects. A broad and interesting pair of tweezers was found at Kingston Down, in Kent, and they are commonly found in the graves of North Germany.‡ Some are figured in the *Archæologia*, of very large and coarse construction, to one of which is appended an ear-pick. They were often accompanied by a small knife, or by a needle and awl of bronze. In the *Antiqua Explorata*, a curious pair of tweezers is strung with an ear-pick; a small band of wire, instead of a metal runner, surrounds the two sides, and increases the prehensile power of the implement; and others were found in the Saxon cemetery of Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire.§ We know that the desire for depilatory performance is still exhibited by the American Indians and others; and depilatories are now common, not only in Paris but in London. It has been said by some, however, that these instruments were not used for this purpose at all, or at least exclusively; but that they were employed in sewing. It is supposed that they held together the two sides of a seam, like the "clams" or wooden forceps which a

* Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. xxxiii.
† Archæologia, XXXVIII., pp. 331, 337, 338.
‡ Ibid., XXXVI., p. 277.
§ Archæological Journ., XI., 99,103.

shoemaker still uses to hold the two pieces of leather in their position. The accompanying figure is one to which this supposition applies.

Tweezers or Forceps, full size.

Of the objects on Plate XXII., fig. 1 has been pronounced to be "elaborate Roman tweezers;"* and another antiquary has pronounced fig. 2 to be Roman.† But similar objects were found among the remains of various classes of people; and this fact increases the difficulty of fixing their national connection positively.

There are six pairs among these objects; one in the possession of Mr. Smith, and five in that of Mr. Mayer. The material of one of the latter appears to be iron. Both of the objects engraved on Plate XXIII. are bronze, and belong to Mr. Mayer.

2.—Rivets.

In the pre-christian period, vast numbers of rivets of a very minute kind were sometimes used in the construction of brazen implements, many hundreds being required, at times, for the construction of a single one. These may be seen in connection with the large brazen trumpets preserved in the Royal Irish Academy; but the commoner rivets of a more recent period were invented in Germany, to hold on the overlapping plates of armour. They are accordingly often spoken of as Almayn rivets. Thus, in the Inventory of the Goods of Dame Agnes Hungerford, among the "percelles left in the Castle of Farley" we read, 1523:—

Item,—In the same castelle, sex score pare of harnes of Alman ryvetts and brygeudens, with 1 sheffe of arrows.‡

* A. W. F.
† C. R. S.
‡ Archæologia, XXXVIII., 368.

Also in *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, we have the following passage, A.D. 1554:*—

Bought of John Skelton, smyth, a payer of Allemaine ryvetts, lakyng ij taces and a gorgett, viij^{s}.

In the *Shuttleworth Accounts* of June, 1661, we read:—

Fyve C of brasse ryvetts, xviij^{d}. †

The rivets in this collection are either small brass ones, used in the manufacture of minute objects, or they are the large iron ones denominated bolts.

3.—NAILS.

All the nails of the olden time were of wrought iron, the present processes for their rapid manufacture being unknown. Roman nails have been found at Uriconium, in the very slates which they attached to the roofs; and, in like manner, flat-headed nails have been found at Caerwent,‡ in the tiles for roofing, and elsewhere,§ of the same type as those discovered in the later British barrows. Numerous long spike-nails have been found in various parts of England, as at Lullsworth (now Spital-fields), in 1516,‖ at Colchester,¶ at Bourne Park near Canterbury,** at Boxmoor in Herts,†† and elsewhere. Some have supposed that these were used to fasten together the large boxes in which men were interred, and their goods along with them, others say that they held together the logs of funeral piles; but an opinion, which is strongly held by others, is, that the Roman punishment of crucifixion was common in Britain, and that these are the nails which attached the malefactor to the cross.‡‡

In the early part of the eleventh century, workmen at Verulamium found certain oak planks with nails in them, and covered with pitch; they were supposed to be part of an ancient ship.§§ Large Norman nails still remain in several of

* Queen Jane and Queen Mary, 125.
† Shuttleworth Accounts, p. 250.
‡ Archæologia, XXXVI., p. 429.
§ Archæological Journal, VI., 404.
‖ Proceedings, Soc. Antiquaries, Vol. II., p. 121.
¶ Ibid. Vol. II., p. 171.
** Ibid. Vol. II., p. 79.
†† Archæologia, XXXIV., p. 394.
‡‡ Proceedings, Soc. Antiquaries, Vol. II. pp. 83, 84, 94, 121.
§§ Archæologia, XXX., p. 441.

our church doors, and smaller ones, in the Norman book-cover, mentioned by Scott, in the library of Durham Cathedral.*

About ten years ago, two large nails were shown from the door of the ancient chapel at Kilbride, near Dunblane;† and still more recently, in taking down an old house at Annan, it was found that the slates had been fastened on by pegs made of the leg-bones of sheep.

The door-nails just mentioned are referred to in the *Shuttleworth Accounts*, page 146, where he says:—

iiij hundreth of dower nales of the lesser sort, le hundreth ij^{s}. iiij^{d}. ix^{s}. iiij^{d}.

To such as these we are indebted for the common proverb, "As dead as a door-nail," which, of course, only moves as it is moved.‡ In the Expenses of the Wardrobe of Edward III. mention is made of:—

C clavi de ferro.§

In 1554, the treatise known as *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, gives us the following entry:—

lether and nayles to mend the hernes, j^{d}. ^{ob}.‖

In 1586, we find the following entry in the *Shuttleworth Accounts*:—

Making a thousand and foure schore horce nails of youre owne ieron, xviij^{d}.

Of the small bronze nails engraved here, there are only nine; eight in the possession of Mr. Mayer, and one in Mr. Ainslie's. Figs. 12, 13, 14, are from the former, and fig. 15 from the latter. They are all mediæval.

XXI.—RINGS.—Plate XXIV.

1.—Finger Rings.

1. *Introduction.*—The employment of rings is unquestionably very ancient, extending back almost to the time of Tubal-Cain. From the earliest references to them, it would appear that

* Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England, Plate iv.

† Proceeding of the Soc. Antiq., Scotland, I., 149.

‡ But George he did the dragon kill
As dead as any door-nail.
Old Ballad. St. George for England.

§ Archæologia, XXXI., 40.

‖ That is, 1½d., "ob." meaning obolus.

they were badges of office, or marks of government; and they were no doubt employed to seal public documents. Thus, Pharaoh invested Joseph* with a ring in delegating to him authority in Egypt. But at the same period, or shortly subsequent, rings were used as personal decorations; for a mummied hand, in the possession of Mr. Mayer, has a beautiful obelisk for its stone, lying along the direction of the finger. The nomad people called Midianites, who were conquered by Moses, and eventually overthrown by Gideon,† possessed large numbers of rings among their personal ornaments. It would appear from the Assyrian sculptures, that finger-rings were unknown among these people, their place being supplied by more massive bracelets and armlets.‡

With other nations of antiquity they were common, and the collections of our English antiquaries embrace numerous Roman rings. Some of these are noticed in connection with keys; but of Roman rings proper, one probably intended for the thumb was found at Kirkby Thore, in Westmoreland.§ Others have been found by Dr. Bruce along the line of the Roman wall; and one of bronze at Caerwent, in Monmouthshire. At Uriconium several have been found, and of very varied materials. Near Chilgrove, in Sussex, two rings were found in 1843, supposed to have belonged to Roman Christians.‖ At some ancient British burial-places at Stanlake, Oxfordshire, a spiral bronze finger-ring was discovered. Roman rings were at first of iron, and the right to wear gold ones was originally restricted to the rich.¶ Hannibal procured, literally, bushels of rings from the conquered Romans; and, among the latter, collections of rings were not uncommon. Of Saxon and more modern rings there are numerous examples.

2. *Materials.*—Gold was the most valuable material; and rings of gold were worn by the rich when they could be had. Sometimes, also, rings of an inferior metal were valuable from

* Genesis xli., xlii.
† Numbers xxxi.; Judges viii.
‡ Layard's Illustrations of Nineveh.
§ Archæol., XXXI., 286.
‖ Archæol., XXXI., 312.
¶ See James ii. 2.

their structure, decoration, or peculiarity. A beautiful gold ring of the fifteenth century was found at Haddon Hall, in Derbyshire, about 1860. It bears the figure of St. John the Baptist, with the lamb; and, from

The Haddon ring.

The ring expanded.

the poesy or inscription, was evidently a gift. (*Reliquary*, II., 47.) The inscription is **de bo en cu er**, (*de bon cour.*) Rings of silver, bronze, brass, and copper, were common; and even those of lead, amber, glass, ivory, and wood. At Uriconium "they have been discovered of silver, yellow bronze, bronze with iron wire, bronze with open-work on one side, and a fragment of one of wood."* In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, there are rings of bone;† and at Killarney numerous cheap rings are sold, said to be made of the wild deer's hoof.

So important a business was the making of rings, that it was separated from the ordinary work of the goldsmith; and the trade of the *Annularius*, or ring-maker,‡ was a distinct one.

* Wright's Uriconium, 86.

† Wilde's Catalogue, p. 335.

‡ In the previous pages, various occupations have been noticed which no longer exist among us; so that a glance at some of the trades past and present may be instructive. The shoemaker, saddler, and nailer still exist; the dish-turner is found in rural districts, where wooden bowls and trenchers yet survive; the wigmaker is now one who occupies leisure hours with what was formerly an important business; we possess the term pinmaker like watchmaker, but there is in reality no such person, as each is one name for numerous occupations. Buttonmakers are still to be found, who are occupied with manufacturing a particular class of buttons. The blacksmith turns out objects in dark iron, and the whitesmith those in polished metal; the locksmith and the gunsmith are named *from* articles which they produce, and the coppersmith, silversmith, and goldsmith, from the materials with which they work.

The arkwright was occupied in making the large oak chests with carved fronts, still to be seen in farmhouses; the cartwright or wainwright made carts or waggons; the wheelwright made spinning-wheels about thirty years ago, but the term now denotes a person who makes the

3. *Uses.*—Besides their uses as signets or seals, for which their attachment to the person made them peculiarly appropriate, they were always desired as ornaments. They thus came to denote quality, as in the expression from an old play—

I am a gentleman, looke on my ring;
Ransomme me at what thou wilt, it shall be paid.*

A ring was part of a prize for archery; as mentioned in one of the Robin Hood ballads—

A greate courser, with saddle and brydle,
With gold burnished full bright;
A payre of gloves, a red golde ring,
A pipe of wyne, good fay;
What man bereth him best, I wis,
The prize shall bear away.†

It is often represented in ancient poetry as having been the token to a porter to open the gates; and not unfrequently it served the purpose of a bribe—

The porter gan him wite,
And seyd "cherl, go oway,
Other y schal the smite,
What dostow here all day?"

---

wheels for various kinds of carriages. Sclater is the old form of slater (as sclate is of slate); stringer means rope-maker; and the Scottish soutar is the Latin *sutor*, a shoemaker. The cobbler is distinguished from the shoemaker, as being a mender only; and the botcher was formerly a mender of ordinary clothing, as distinguished from a tailor who makes new garments.

Of the terms which have become obsolete, and several of which are noticed under their proper heads, are the bowyer and fletcher; the bucklemaker, ringmaker, broochmaker, and claspmaker; the girdler or beltmaker, the cappe[illegible], who was the hatter of his time, and the hand-casemaker or glover. To these may be added the cup-mender, the casemaker, the huckster, lorimer, &c.

Many of these might still be found in the second part of one of our decennial censuses, showing that, though an occupation has almost disappeared, it still has its representatives somewhere in England; and of course other trades have come into existence with names which our forefathers never knew. Many of the names of extinct trades survive in the surnames of families, as Arkwright, Cartwright, Wainwright, Lorimer, Sclater, Bowyer, Stringer, Fletcher, Cordiner (shoemaker), Frobisher (furbisher), Kembster, Lavender (washerman), Shearman, &c., &c.

* First Part of the Contention; York and Lanc. Shaks. Soc.

† A Litil Geste.—Ritson.

A ring he raught him tite,*
The porter seyd nought nay.†

Sometimes also the ring was employed as an inducement to a wife to perform her duty—

I have conditioun of ane curchef crisp, or silk;
Ane gown of engraynit clayth, richt gaylie furrit;
Ane ring with royal staue; or other rychc juell.‡

In an ancient Scottish poem called the *Freirs of Berwik*, a woman as proud as a parrot is represented as having two rings on each finger—

On ilk ane fynger scho weirit ringis two,
Scho was als proud as any papingo.

That rings were worn on the thumb is evident, not only from the size of some of them, but from the analogous practice still common in the east. Chaucer also says in the *Squieres Tale*—

Upon his thombe,§ he had of gold a ring,
And by his side, a naked swerd hanging.

In the same poem, a magical ring is mentioned which is worn in like manner on the thumb—

The vertue of this ring, if ye wol here,
Is this, that if hire list it for to were
Upon hire thombe, or in hire purse it bere,
Ther is no foule that fleeth under heven
That she ne schal wel understand.

Occasionally, also, the finger of the skeleton is found surrounded by the ornament which was coveted and prized during life. In the year 1697, a woman was drowned for theft in the Loch of Spynie, in Morayshire, and in 1811 the skeleton was brought to light with a ring on its finger. In

* Reached him quickly.

† Sir Tristrem, Fytte, I., v. 53. A similar scene occurs in the old ballad of *King Estmere*.

Then they pulled out a ryng of gold,
Layd it on the porter's arme;
And ever we will thee, proud porter,
That thow saye us no harme,
Sore he looked on Kyng Estmere,
And sore he handled the ryng,
Then opened to them the fayre hall yates,
He lett for no kynd of thyng.
Percy's Reliques, I., 73.

‡ Dunbar, Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo.

§ There is in my own possession, a large copper thumb-ring of the 15th century. It bears the letters I H C, and is said to have been the signet of some one connected with the Abbey of Lancaster.

1862, in some discoveries made at Pompeii, a body was too far decayed to be touched; but liquid plaster of Paris was poured in upon it, and a casting was taken, which came out with such accuracy that a ring was found on the finger. In a woman's grave at Kingston Down, the analogous case was found, of a brass armilla surrounding the bone of the arm.* In the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon burial-place at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury, a silver twisted ring was found on the middle finger bone of a skeleton;† and in some sepulchral objects from Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburg, obtained by the late J. M. Kemble, Esq., was a finger-ring of bronze, in which the bone still lay. The Abbé Cochet mentions this as a usual occurrence, and represents it by a woodcut—

Au doigt de la main sont les bagues ou des anneaux d'or, d' argent, de cuivre, ou de bronze. Quelques unes de ces bagues sont unies, mais d'autres ont des chatons en agate, en venoterie rouge ou vert, ou des croix encaustées sur metal. Communement, elles sont encore passées au doight qui les porta, dont la phalange est toute verdie par l'oxyde du bronze.‡

2.—Peculiar Rings.

Some were used as whistles; one of which resembles, in general appearance, ours, Plate XXIV., fig. 6. Others have been manufactured to serve as squirts; and an ancient watch occupies the place of a stone in a ring. Among the Danish rings is one consisting of a thick hoop of amber, with a Runic inscription surrounding it.§ Bronze rings, with broad expanded ends overlapping each other, have been found near the spot traditionally known as the burial-place of Macbeth.‖ A very peculiar ring of silver wire, half the circle of which is thrown up into peculiar loops, was found on the finger of a skeleton by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., in 1843, at Barrow Furlong, in Northamptonshire.¶ In the Fairford graves, a ring was found along with an ear-pick and pins.

* Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 62.

† Figured Archæol., XXXV., Pl. xii., fig. 14.

‡ La Normandie Souterraine, p. 20.

§ Worsaæ, Afbild., p. 87.

‖ Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, 327.

¶ Archæolog., XXXIII., 332.

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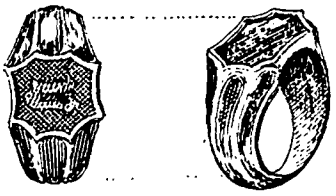

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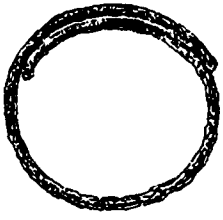

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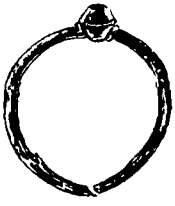

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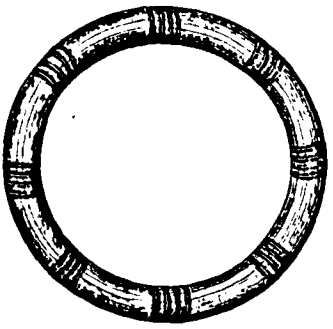
FOR DR HUME'S HOYLAKE ANT

J.E. WORRALL LITH

FINGER-RINGS.

Ordinary curtain rings were well known to our ancestors. For example, in the Expenses of the Wardrobe of Edward III., 1345-49, sixty rings of copper are mentioned; and again, a hundred rings of copper, to be used in the construction of red curtains for the king's chamber. For a similar purpose, two hundred copper rings are ordered at another time.* We see such divisions of apartments in the drawings which decorate old manuscripts; and it is evident that when large rooms served for numerous purposes, such temporary partitions were indispensable. No doubt they resembled the divisions by curtains still in use in school-rooms, or the partitions in the large sleeping apartments of the model lodging-houses of our own day. Certain carved statues in front of Barnack Church, Northampton, of the time of Henry VI. and VII., stand each in front of a curtain with rings.† In the expenses of John of Brabant, and Thomas and Henry of Lancaster, 1292-3,‡ mention is made of silver rings and thongs for the bascinets.

There are other large rings, the uses of which are uncertain.



Brass Ring with quadruple lines.

One of brass, an inch and five-eighths in diameter, was found in a woman's grave, and may have served as an extempore brooch. Some coarse linen cloth was found along with it; and it is clear that, a piece of the cloth being drawn through the ring, a pin of any material could have been inserted across it. In many rings of this class, and in some buckles, a simple style of ornamentation is observable. It consists of cross lines in sets; in this instance there are eight sets of four. In Plate XXIV., fig. 5, there are three sets of six; and in Plate XXV., fig. 2, there are three sets of three.

* Archæol., XXXI., pp. 22, 32, 36, 54, &c.

† Carter's Ancient Sculpture and Painting.

‡ Camden Miscellany, II., 7.

The use of the ring in matrimony has come down to us from the earliest Christian times. At present it is usually plain and of gold, but formerly a frequent symbol was that of the serpent with its tail in its mouth, indicating affection in perpetuity. This gave origin to gymnal rings, which resembled the ordinary split rings for keys, except that the two parts could be shown separately though joined like links, and formed a complete ring when joined together. It is probably a gymnal ring to which Emilia alludes in Othello IV., 2, when she says—

"Marry, I would not do such a thing for a joint ring, nor for measures of lawn, nor for gowns, petticoats, and caps."

One is figured by Hone;* and others, separating into three and even four rings, were shown in the temporary loan museum at South Kensington. The inner inscription on one is, *Quod deus conjunxit, homo non separet.* The ring was, therefore, an ordinary love-token, either when broken or when two were exchanged. The old ballads speak frequently of wooing with brooch and ring (*see* Brooch); and Lord Gregory exchanged a gold ring for a diamond one with Annie of Lochryan.†

5. *Rings in this Collection.*—The rings in this collection are of three classes:—I. Large rings like curtain rings, of which there are 43 in all; viz., 32 brass or bronze, 7 iron, and 4 lead.‡ II. Finger-rings; viz., 2 gold, 1 silver, 15 bronze, and 2 lead. § III. Small rings, thin and flat, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, the uses of which are not accurately known. Of these there are 45, all of them brass, except one of lead. The fourteen represented on Plate XXIV., are all of the class Finger-rings.

Fig. 1 is of gold, carefully engraved on its sides; and on the

* Table Book, II., 1.

† O, dinna ye mind, Lord Gregory,
As we sat at the wine,
We chang'd the rings frae our fingers,
And I can show thee thine?
O yours was gude, and gude enough,
But ay the best was mine;
For yours was o' the gude red gowd,
But mine o' the diamond fine.
Minstrelsy of the Border, II., 429.

‡ Of these, 4 belong to Mr. Mayer, 13 to Mr. Smith, and 26 to myself.

§ Of these, 3 belong to Mr. Ainslie, 3 to Mr. Smith, 3 to myself, and 11 to Mr. Mayer.

metal is a rude shield, surmounted by the letters A. G. Fig. 2 is of silver, fluted throughout, with the letter U on a chequered base of the metal. These two are evidently much more modern than the others. Fig. 6, which is also of gold, resembles some of the more primitive ones of brass or bronze.

Figs. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, are all of brass or bronze. There is a space for a setting in fig. 3, which appears to have been filled with blue colour. Fig. 4 is a portion of a spiral ring, which may have had another complete coil, and may have terminated in small knobs. Fig. 5 is open, but it appears to have been so originally, and never to have been fractured. At each of three places on its upper edge there appear to have been six incised lines. Figs. 7 and 11 have also vacant spaces for stones; the latter is supposed to be Roman. Figs. 8, 9, and 12, are examples of the knotted ring, where each end was looped over the other side; and, by a little gentle expansion or contraction, the ring could easily be fitted to various sizes of fingers. Figs. 8 and 12 are curiously ornamented with a pattern which is quite visible in the engraving; and 9 may have been so in like manner, but nothing of the kind is now visible.

Silver Sliding Ring.

An object like fig. 13 is engraved among the brooches, (Plate VI., fig. 4), the pin serving as a diameter between the ornamented and unornamented semicircles. Possibly this may have been used for a similar purpose, though it does not exhibit any signs of the attrition of the pin.

Figs. 10 and 14 are lead, and smaller than the others; the latter is like the toy rings frequently sold to children.

If the conjecture be correct that any of these are Roman, the dates of those represented will probably range from the 4th to the 17th century. Figs. 1, 2, and 6, which represent gold and silver rings, are from Mr. Ainslie's collection; figs. 4, 10, and 11, from that of Mr. Smith; fig. 5 from my own, and the remaining seven from that of Mr. Mayer.

XXII.—EAR-RINGS.—PLATE XXV.

1. *Introduction.*—Though ear-rings may not be more ancient than finger-rings, we notice a record of them at an earlier period. The servant of Abraham is said to have given a golden ear-ring to Rebecca, but it is sometimes understood to have been an ornament for the forehead. At all events, ear-rings, which are known to nations of very different degrees of civilization, were common among the Israelites, Midianites, and Egyptians. The Assyrians also, especially the men, wore ear-rings, sometimes both massive and beautiful;* and the ladies both of Greece and Rome wore ear-rings.

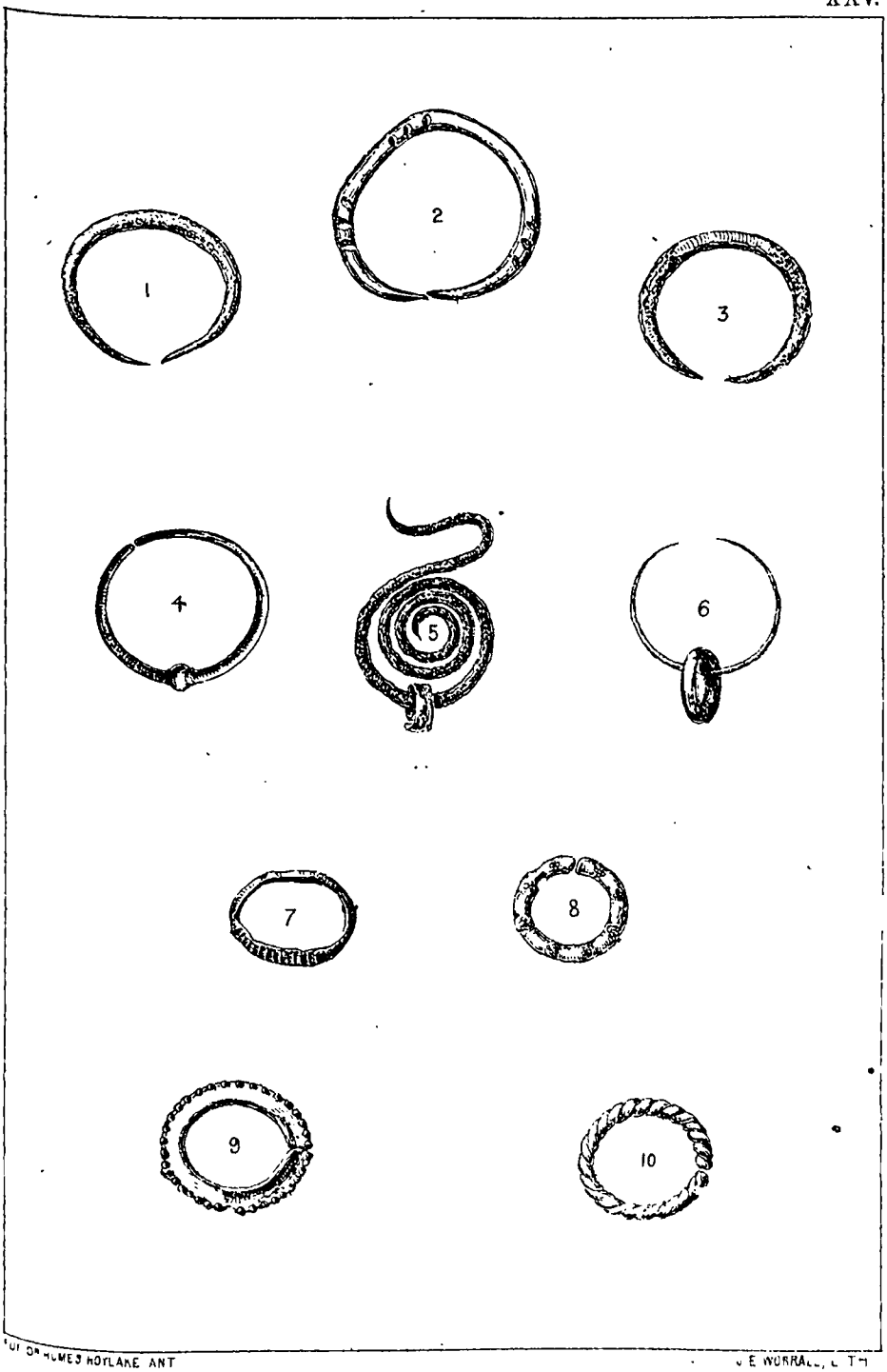
Among the Roman antiquities found at Reculver,† in Kent, is a supposed ear-ring of gold; but its use is a little doubtful. In the year 1812, Dr. Lee found a pair of beautiful silver ear-rings in the Ionian Islands, a woodcut of which is given in the *Archæologia*, XXXIII., 46. Each opens and shuts by two hooks, and is embellished by three globules with elevated circles, like equators surrounding them. A large drop ornament is suspended, surrounded and intersected by elegant filigree work, with an ornament like the figure 8 in three of the quadrants, which unite in a pyramid. The remains of a Frankish warrior, discovered at Envermeu, in the Lower Seine, by the Abbé Cochet, exhibited a pair of ear-rings of base silver, with torqued circles closed by a hook and eye.‡ Among the Faussett antiquities, ear-rings of silver were extremely common; they were found in seventeen of the Kingston graves, in seven at Sibertswold, and in others at Gilton and Barfriston. Ear-rings of bronze were also known; and one of this material was found among the Anglo-Saxon objects at Fairford§ in Gloucestershire. Others are both figured and described by

* See Layard's Illustrations of Nineveh, Pl. v.; and especially Pl. xii., where there are numerous cruciform ear-rings. On Pl. xxxiv. they are bell-shaped, and some like half of a crayon.

† Smith, 213.

‡ Archæol., XXXVII., 102.

§ Ibid., XXXVII., 146.

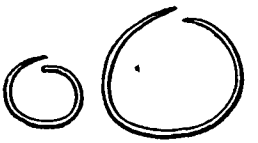


FOR DR HOMES HOYLAKE ANT

J E WORRALL, LITH

EAR-RINGS.

M. Troyon, from the lakes of Switzerland.* Two, which consist of threads of bronze, are reproduced here. No doubt they were also made of other alloys of copper, and of lead.

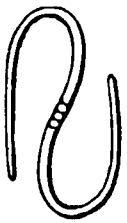


Bronze Ear-rings from the Swiss Lakes.

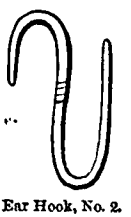
Among the Anglo-Saxon and kindred nations it would appear that ear-rings were almost confined to females. In most of the instances mentioned by Faussett, he states that they were found in a woman's grave; and several circumstances lead to the conclusion, that the Frankish warrior just alluded to was an Amazon.† In some antiquities from Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburg, all the female figures have their ears bored, and each has a loop at the back of the head for the suspension of similar ornaments. An ornament in gold, supposed to have been an ear-ring, was discovered in Suffolk, and a silver ear-ring at Bury St. Edmunds, both supposed to be Saxon. "The gold ring was formed with several round wires, curiously twisted like a rope, tapering towards the extremities, which were united together, forming a ring or hook, to which a smaller ring or hook might be adjusted for suspension to the ear."‡

We are sometimes surprised at the nature of the objects which are called ear-rings, for we think only of our own methods of insertion and suspension. The knotted rings were no doubt loosed, and fastened again after being passed through the ear; and, when open, an old pendant could be removed and replaced by a new one.

Also, metallic hooks, like those in use among ourselves, were frequently placed in the ears; and thus many objects could be suspended. Annexed are two which were found in the grave of an Anglo-Saxon woman of distinction, along with numerous beads and other articles for suspension. The articles suspended



Ear Hook, No. 1.



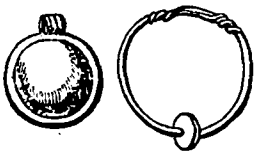
Ear Hook, No. 2.

* Habitations Lacustres, Pl. xi., figs. 21, 22.

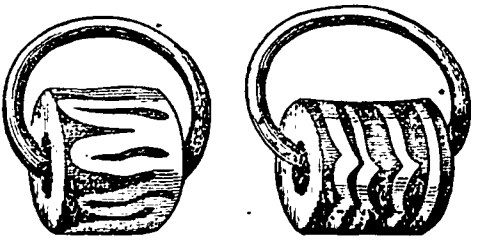
† Archæol. XXXVII., 109.

‡ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, I., 117.

included rings themselves, and the objects which they sustained; and thus we see how massive and complete rings were made pendent from the ears. Some were used along with beads, as mere pensile ornaments, especially by women. A little object like a bulla was found in a woman's grave,* along with a knotted brass ring, on which was a small piece of brass like a spangle. The same general idea is shown still more clearly in the adjoining cut, where two large beads are represented as strung on iron rings. Each is of coarse baked earth, and striped with red, white, and yellow. These also were found in a woman's grave.†



Bulla, and Ring for Suspension.


Iron Rings with Beads, for Ear-Pendants.

In the Anglo-Saxon graves, the rings of silver were generally knotted each upon itself, like our figs. 8, 9, and 12, or like the ring for suspension above. In the collection of the late Lord Londesborough is a silver ring, found at Breach Downs, near Canterbury. It is broad in the middle; but the two extremes, like fine wire, are twisted round each other. It was usual for one or more beads, sometimes very beautiful, to be suspended on these rings. The practice returned again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,‡ and is rebuked by Stubbs in his *Anatomy of Abuses.* Amethyst drops were common; but the ornaments, as may be seen from illustrative plates, were very varied, and in one instance a piece of ivory appears to have been suspended at the ring, though only the slip of brass and its rivet (used for suspending the ivory) now remain. In one example at Kingston, six such silver rings were found with one corpse, and with another eight

* Inv. Sep., p. 111.
† Ib., p. 136.
‡ Fairholt, 493.

amethyst drops. Mr. Wylie also states, in his account of the Fairford graves, that the rings were found with beads upon them near the skull of a skeleton. Alexander Neckam* speaks of *inaures*, which are explained by *ornamenta aurium*, and elsewhere are called "ear-preons" or ear-pins.†

Savage nations sometimes employ ear-rings of a very unusual kind. In my own possession are three, made by splitting a boar's tusk, and scraping each piece round; so that they must have hung in a curve, either forward on the cheek or round the jaw. Another is simply a square pencil of green stone; and another has been described to me as resembling a cork with swollen extremities, passed through the lobe of the ear. All these are from New Zealand. In Denmark and the neighbouring countries the teeth of animals were suspended by hooks.‡

Gold Ring with wheel-like ornament.

Torque-like gold Ring.

Two beautiful gold ear-rings, intended to grip the ear like ours, figs. 1, 2, 3, are here engraved from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. The larger, which is torque-like, weighs 12 dwts. 9 grs.; and the smaller, with a wheel-like ornament on its centre, weighs 9 dwts. 4 grs.

2. *Objects in this Collection.*—The ear-rings in this collection are 58 in all; viz., one of silver, 54 of brass or bronze, and 3 of lead.§ All the varieties are pretty well represented by the

* Mayer's Vocabulary, 101.

† *Inauris*, an ear-preon. *Ang.-Sax. Vocab.* (11*th cent.*) An ear-preon, *Semi-Sax. Vocab.* (12*th cent.*) In the former work, the word *Spinther* is defined, as "dole, oththe *preon*." In the Scottish dialect, a pin is still spoken of as a "preen."

‡ Guide to North. Ach. Ellesmere, 55.

§ Of these, Mr. Ainslie possesses one or more, Mr. Mayer 17, Mr. Smith 22, and there are 18 in my own possession.

objects on the plate. Figs. 1, 2, 3, are of brass or bronze; thick in the middle, but tapering, as was usual, to the points. In this case, however, the overlapping wire does not seem to have been broken off, as the rings appear to be complete. The ear was not pierced, but was merely held between the points by the elasticity of the metal. The largest of them has three notches at each of three places on its surface, in this respect slightly resembling, as we have seen, Pl. XXIV., fig. 5.

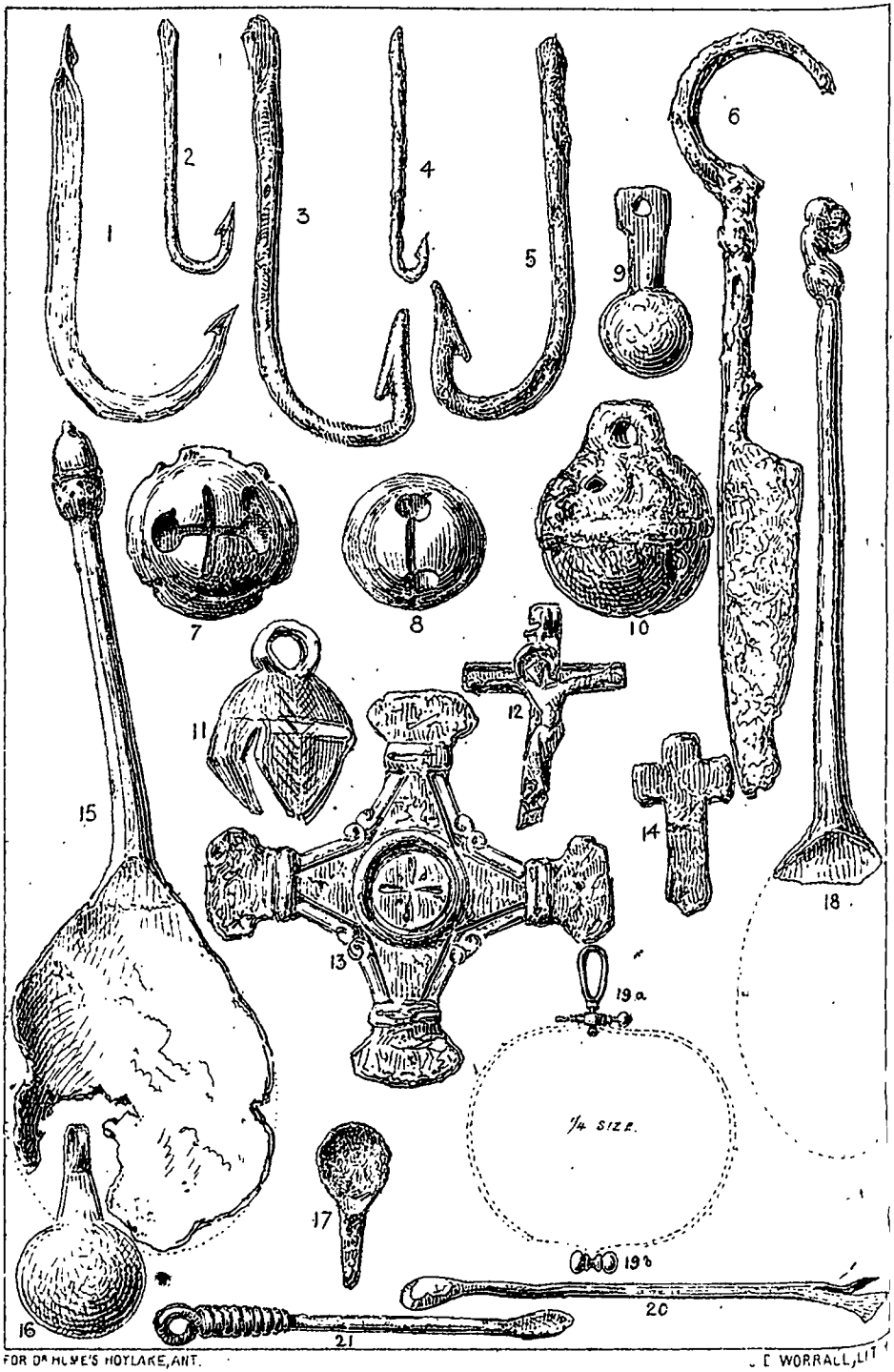
From the construction of the opening in fig. 4, it appears to have been an ear-ring, not a finger-ring; and fig. 6, in its delicacy of structure, and the fact of its suspending a bead, resembles those of the Faussett collection. Fig. 5, of bronze wire, is extremely curious, and must have been a beautiful object when new.

Figs. 7, 8, 9, and 10, appear to be more modern, though each is of a distinct type from the others. Fig. 7 is brass, 8 silver, and 9 and 10 lead.

Of those which are engraved, fig. 4 is from Mr. Ainslie's collection, figs. 5 and 6 from Mr. Smith's, 2 and 3 from my own, and all the rest from Mr. Mayer's.

XXIII.—FISH-HOOKS.—Plate XXVI.

1. *General Remarks.*—There are three primitive fish-hooks in my own possession, obtained from the Maories of New Zealand. They consist of rude pieces of wood, each fitted with an iron nail at its point; but one of them is lined with mother-of-pearl. A more primitive one still is delineated in Thoms's edition of *Worsaæ's Primæval Antiquities*, p. 19. It is of pure flint. One of the same form and material is in the collection of Mr. Mayer of Liverpool: it was found in the S. E. of Yorkshire, with numerous articles of flint, which are described in Mr. Wright's *Essays*, vol. I., p. 1. A fish-hook of bronze from the Thames, is described in Mr. Smith's *Catalogue of London Antiquities*, p. 77, and one of



FOR DR HOWE'S HOYLAKE, ANT. J. E. WORRALL, LIT.

FISH-HOOKS, BELLS, SPOONS, CRUCIFIXES, &c.

bone in *Schoolcraft's Archives*, vol. II., p. 87. Those which are figured in Gwillim as armorial emblazonings, are very broad at the top, as if for security of fastening.

The fish-hooks from Norway, in the International Exhibition, have the shank slightly bent forward towards the point, apparently not from accident, but design. Probably they were thus more easily fastened on the line. The manufacture of a modern fish-hook consists of numerous processes, like that of a pin or needle; and large numbers are produced by Mr. Thomas Lewis of Redditch, in Worcestershire. The scarcity of fish-hooks in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, shows that the people lived more by the land than by the sea. The annexed cut shows their only specimen. It is of bronze.

Only Fish-hook in the collection of the R. I. A.

2. *Fish-hooks in this Collection.*—These amount to sixty-three in all, of which three are of brass or bronze, and sixty of iron. More than fifty of them are in the possession of Mr. Smith. Of those which are engraved on Plate XXVI., figs. 1 and 2 are bronze, and figs. 3, 4, 5, iron. The construction of fig. 1 is very curious. Sheet metal about the thickness of paper is beaten up into a solid mass, and made to assume the required shape, and the junction or seam may be easily traced down its side. It is difficult to assign dates to them; but those of yellow metal are probably as old as the fourteenth century, while those of iron, even when preserved in the peat, probably do not extend beyond the seventeenth. An eminent antiquary places several of them in the early Roman period, and says that they were employed in catching the sunfish.

XXIV.—SCISSORS.—Plate XXVI.

The general form of the Roman and Saxon shears may be seen in our ordinary sheep-shears; or as engraved by Worsaæ from those in the museum at Copenhagen.* On English

* Afbildninger, 71.

brasses, scissors generally denoted a wool-merchant; but in North Leach Church, Gloucestershire, a tailor stands on a pair of shears.* Mr. Cutts says, that on incised slabs the cloth or wool merchant was certainly indicated, and examples may be seen in his plates, from Bakewell in Derbyshire, and Bamborough† in Northumberland; from Hexham,‡ and from Horton also, in Northumberland.§ On several of the tombs at Iona, probably those of females, are engraved a comb, a pair of scissors, or a mirror, and sometimes two or all of these.‖ In Aston's Manchester Guide (1588), quoted in the Shuttleworth Accounts, p. 377, a "payre of sheerman's sheares" is valued at three shillings. At Eye was discovered a pair of scissors of iron, and at Stade on the Elbe several pairs of brass shears, like the modern sheep-shears, but so small that they appear to have been used as children's toys. Those described by the late J. M. Kemble, Esq., and figured in the Archæologia,¶ do not exceed two inches in length. The Roman scissors found at Richborough, appear coarse and clumsy articles. Shears, precisely similar to the fragment given here, were found in women's graves, in Faussett's** diggings in Kent. In a man's grave, an instrument was found which Faussett calls pincers, but which appears to have been shears, like those used for metals,†† the handles being much longer than the blades. In *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 20, the Abbé Cochet gives an engraving of a pair of shears very much resembling our own. They appear to have formed part of the equipment of a barbarian soldier, and their points are inserted in a leathern sheath. A pair of iron shears, much corroded, but of the usual form, was found within an urn at Newark‡‡ in Nottinghamshire, along with some bones, bronze tweezers, and a bone

* Oxford Manual of Brasses, lvii.
† Cutts, Plate li.
‡ Ib., Plate lx.
§ Ibid., Plate lvii.
‖ Blackie's Guide, p. 65. Dr. Alexander, p. 167.
¶ Archæologia, XXXVI., p. 278.
** Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. xxxiii., Plate xv., figs. 20, 26.
†† Ibid., Pl. xx., 29.
‡‡ Milner on Cemetery Burial, Archæological Journal, iii., 195.

comb. In an early Anglo-Saxon barrow, at Barham Downs, was found a pair of shears much like that figured here. They were used by Anglo-Saxon ladies, probably suspended from the girdle.*

"M. Troyon nous fait comprendre que les ciseaux dont il parle, ont été trouvés à la ceinture du mort: MM. Lindenschmit le demontrent, en figurant la ceinture d'un squelette chargé d'un peigne, d'un couteau, de ciseaux, d'un bracelet, d'une coupe, et d'une foule d'ornements. Ce sujet, si riche en objets de coquetterie, parait être une femme splendidement parée. Faudra-t-il conclure de là que tous les corps qui présentent la cisaelle sont des femmes?" †

M. Troyon has figured a pair, of iron, found at La Tene on the Lake of Neuchatel; ‡ they are of the usual type. A pair was found at Towcester with some Roman remains; § and a pair of well-made Saxon ones, in a burial-place in Notts; ‖ but the general form is unaltered.

It is impossible to assign a definite date to the implement, a portion of which is here given, as similar objects have ranged over many centuries. Its antiquity may be inferred from its companion articles. "They may be Roman;" ¶ "they are mediæval at least." ** We learn from Heywood's "Mery Play," 1530, that the scissors were sometimes used as a weapon of offence or defence—

> Rech me my dystaf or my clypyng sherys,
> I shall make the blood ronne about his erys;

and we know, from a quotation already given, that they were carried in the miscellaneous stock of travelling pedlars.

XXV. BELLS.—Plate XXVI.

1. *Introduction.*—The existence of bells at an early period

* Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, II., 59.

† La Normandie Souteraine, 242.

‡ Habit. Lacus., Pl. xv., fig. 13.

§ Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. VII., p. xi., 5.

‖ Ibid., Vol. VIII., p. 189.

¶ A. W. F.

** C. R. S.

is clear from allusions in scripture, where they are mentioned by Moses,* and by Zechariah. These were small bells, such as are treated of here; and had no connexion with either the sacred hand-bells of the mediæval period, or the church-bells said to have existed since the time of St. Dunstan. In other words, our remarks refer to the *tintinnabulum*, not to the *campana*. The small bells which have been found in this country go back to Roman times. Several globular bronze bells have been found with Roman remains at Headington, in Oxfordshire; and also by Mr. Neville at Heydon, Chesterford, and Shefford. The forms and uses of ancient bells are shown in *Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiqs.* [TINTINNABULUM.]

2. *Material and Shape.*—Besides the gold bells of scripture there were silver bells,† frequently mentioned in our old English literature. Those of bell-metal were, no doubt, common also. Bells of copper‡ were long known in America, and of gold in Mexico and Peru.§ Those turned in brass are common at home in our own day. In antiquarian collections, those of pewter frequently occur.‖ In Mr. Smith's collection is one about an inch long, with the word **SANCTI TOMAES** following a cross.¶ Other bells were of lead or sheet iron; and no doubt any metal or its compound sufficed, that produced a sufficient or a satisfactory sound.

The forms included the truncated pyramid, the ball, two hemispheres joined at a thick band, the imitation of a flower, &c. The figure of a bell, transcribed from the water-mark in paper, is given in the *Archæologia.*** It is from Bordeaux, about 1350, and resembles the modern church bell in shape; the ring and its appurtenances at the top resembling a fleur-de-lis.

3. *Uses of Bells.*—A prominent use of the bell was to decorate the dress of the clown or jester, who was commonly known

* Exod. xxviii. 32; xxix. 25.

† "j tyntinabill d'arg^{t}." *Expenses of the Great Wardrobe of Edward III.*, Archæol., XXXI., 72.

‡ Schoolcraft IV., 450.

§ Schoolcraft, IV., 440.

‖ Catalogue of London Ant. p. 135.

¶ Ib., p. 135.

** Archæol., XXXVII., 450.

as the fool. Three of these are represented in *Strutt's View of the Dress and Habits,** of the fourteenth century. Each of them has bells attached to his cap; one appears to have so many as fourteen attached to a string round his waist; another has one at the end of his bauble; and two of them have bells attached to their elbows, cuffs, skirts, and gloves. On a statue in the cloisters of Magdalen College, Oxford, there are bells for tassels at a fool's robe.† In the old ballad entitled *Willie's Lady*, bells at the girdle are noticed—

> And say your lady has a girdle,
> Its a' red gowd to the middle;
> And aye at ilka siller hem,
> Hang fifty siller bells and ten. ‡

The following is a description of a fool. Wamba, the son of Witless, "was provided with a cap having around it more than one bell, about the size of those attached to hawks, which jingled as he turned his head to one side or other." § In Munster's *Cosmographia Generalis*, 1550, there is a woodcut representing a fool with bells attached to the points of his crackowes, or long-toed shoes. A custom akin to this is mentioned in the travels of Sir John Chardin as prevailing in Persia and Arabia; viz., that the women wear rings about their ankles, which are full of little bells. "Children and young women take a pleasure in giving them motion, and walk hastily for that very purpose." A further use of bells in the East is shown in a work printed in German,|| towards the close of the sixteenth century, and copiously illustrated. The Geomalier, one of the four Turkish orders of devotees, has three bells at each end of his long waist-scarf, and eight or nine round each leg, (Plate xxxiv.) A Greek peasant is playing a bagpipe, and from the top of the drone a cord hangs

* Strutt, Pl. lxxi.

† Carter's Anct. Sculp. and Painting.

‡ Scott's Border Minstrelsy, II., 398.

§ Scott's Ivanhoe, vol. I. p. 10.

|| Travels in Turkey, by Herr Nicolai, Chamberlain and Geographer to Henry III. of France, showing the costumes of that and the neighbouring countries. Antorff., 1576.

like a festoon over his shoulder. From this several small bells are suspended at intervals, (Plate xxxii.) The Turkish running postman has fourteen bells hung from his belt, and eight attached to each garter (Plate xxvi.)

In the curious painted window at Betley, in Staffordshire, representing the morris-dancers, several are shown with bells on their shoes, and all round their legs. In Douce's dissertation on the ancient morris-dance, numerous references are made to the use of bells. In the Expenses of the Churchwardens of the parish of Kingston-on-Thames, among the payments made for the May-game and the play of Robin Hood, the following entry occurs, under date 23 Henry VII. :—

For bellys for the dawnsars, 12d.

There is a second referring to the following reign;* but as the bells were sold with other articles, we cannot ascertain the price,

It.—The chanons sells and 1 bell ar sould for 20s.

It.—5 tables and 1 bell sould for 6s.

At the *festum fatuorum*, or festival of fools, in which the superior clergy changed places for a day with the humblest people, the mock deans and canons had bells attached to their robes. But even on the most solemn occasions the bell was employed; and it was at times regarded as a sacred symbol.† It is said that the ancient Druid priests used a peculiar kind when pronouncing their oracles.

Bells were attached to a curious cap of punishment, which is depicted in Meyrick and Skelton's *Ancient Armour*, Plate xii. It was intended, no doubt, to add to the mortification of the sufferer, by representing him as a fool at the same time. Bells were also used on ordinary dress, as may be seen from an example given both in Strutt and in Fairholt's Treatise on Costume. It is that of a gentleman of the fifteenth century, with a baldric or sash hung over his left shoulder;‡

* Dissolution of Repton Priory, 26th Oct., 30 Henry VIII.

† C. R. S.

‡ Strutt, II., 292.

it descends to his right knee, and is decorated with about eighteen small bells of gold. A popular ballad, too, represents Tam-a-Line, the elfin knight, as having nine bells of silver attached to his girdle.*

Bells were also used very frequently as the decoration of dogs' collars; and on well-known monumental brasses many are depicted. Twenty examples are given in a note;† viz., six of the fourteenth century, eleven of the fifteenth, and three of the sixteenth. In the "*King's Quair*, maid be King James of Scotland the First," cir. 1422, there is a description of the dog of Lady Jane Beaufort, his future queen, as seen in the gardens of Windsor Castle.

> And eft myn eye ful pitously adoun,
> I kest, behalding unto hir lytill hound
> That with his bellis playit on the ground.

The use of bells on the harness of horses has existed at least since the time of the prophet Zechariah, who says that the bells upon the horses shall be "holiness unto the Lord;"‡ and a similar use of them is made in connexion with the camels of the east. Byron imitates a beautiful passage at the close of the Song of Deborah, introducing this feature in the first line—

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* Dixon's Scottish Traditional Ballads, Per. Soc. 11.

† Joan de Northwode, Sheppey, Kent, 1330; the Lady of Edward Flambard, Harrow, 1370; Lady Berkeley, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, 1392; Margaret Braunche, Lynn-Regis, Norfolk, 1364; Lady Burton, Little Castleton, Rutland, 1382; Lady de Cobham, Cobham, Kent, 1360; Lady Wylcotes, Great Tew, Oxon, 1410; Lady Felbrig, Felbrig, Norfolk, 1413; Lady Shelton, Great Snoring, Norfolk, 1423; Lady Ela Stapleton, Ingham, Norfolk, 1425; Lady Dyve, Bromham, Beds, 1430; Lady Leventhorpe, Sawbridge, Herts, 1433; Lady Stapleton, Ingham, Norfolk, 1438 (one of the dogs at Sir Brian Stapleton's feet has the name Jaltke printed); a lady, Lingfield, Surrey, 1450; two Ladies Stapleton, Ingham, Norfolk, 1466; Margaret Castyll, Raveningham, Norfolk, 1483; Sir Edmund Clere, Stokesby, Norfolk, 1488; Mrs. Curson, Waterpery, Oxon, 1527; Mrs. Oker, Okeover, Staffordshire (two dogs), 1530; and a palimpsest fragment from St. Alban's Abbey.

‡ Zech. xiv. 20.

The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, "Why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?"—JUDGES v. 28.

The browsing camels' bells are tinkling,
The mother look'd from her lattice high,
She saw the dews of eve besprinkling,
The pastures green beneath her eye,
She saw the planets faintly twinkling,
"'Tis twilight—sure his train is nigh."—GLAOUR.

In the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich*, 1844, is the representation of a horse whose breast-band is covered with bells; and the practice still exists of attaching them to the harness in various parts of England, and almost everywhere on the continent. I first noticed it in the neighbourhood of Bath. A fragment of ancient sculpture shows each of the horses in a chariot, with five or six bells attached to a thick strap passing round his neck. The practice is incidentally alluded to in the nursery tale of the *Steed of Bells;* and it is recognized in popular poetry, and by modern writers who are familiar with the customs of the past. In the old ballad of *Willie's Lady*, it is said that—

At every tuft of that horse's mane
There's a golden jess and a bell to ring.

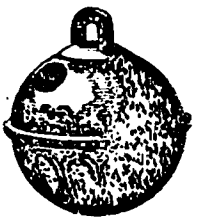
Sir Walter Scott says, "this worthy churchman rode upon a well-fed ambling mule, whose furniture was highly decorated; and whose bridle, according to the fashion of the day, was ornamented with silver bells."* In the illustrations to *Schiller's Lay of the Bell*, by Maurice Retzch, a horse which draws a sledge in a northern clime is represented with bells on the top of the yoke. The assumed date of the illustrations is from the middle of the 12th to the end of the 15th century. There are bells at the saddle-cloth of a Spanish warrior of the 11th century; a bell on the croupe of a horse, 1511;† and a bell near the bridle bit of a British warrior.‡ A balcony, which is supported by poles over the head of the Pope, has bells of the modern shape at the four corners, and spherical bells along its four sides.§

The ceremony of "belling the cat" is well known in fable;

* Ivanhoe, chap. ii.
† Shaw, vol. i.
‡ Meyrick and Smith's Brit. and Irish Costume.
§ Foxe's Book of Martyrs, p. 789.

'it was illustrated by a fact in the history of the Scottish house of Douglas and Angus, and it was a favourite subject among the burlesque monkish carvings on the *sedilia* of our ancient churches.

It has long been usual for one of a flock of sheep to have a bell attached to its neck to keep the flock together; * and those who have passed through pastoral districts must be familiar with the practice still. It is said that in some places they were attached to the sheeps' tails; one in my own possession, turned up near Holyhead in Wales, was said to have been used in this way. It is about an inch and a half in diameter; very similar in form to the example given here, and has the letters R. W. rudely engraved on the bottom. Hence the term "bell-wether," occurring two or three times in Shakspeare, and the expression "to bear the bell," meaning to take the lead—



Sheep Bell.

My prickearde ewe, since thou dost bear the bell,
And all thy mates do follow at thy call.

In Todd's edition of Spenser, this passage is quoted from Riche's *Adventures of Simonides*, in illustration of the phrase; and the following is Spenser's allusion to it—

By that, the gloomy evening on them fell,
That forced them from fighting to refraine,
And trumpets sound to cease did them compell,
So Satyrane that day was judg'd to bear the bell.†

About this time, to bear away the bell had become a proverbial expression for winning a prize; ‡ and it was appropriate in a literal sense also, as at Smithfield, the Rood-eye of Chester, and other places, horses running without riders contended

* The practice must also have existed when swine were fed in flocks in the extensive forests of England; but I have met with no allusions to it in our older literature, nor with any pictorial representations of it.

† Faery Queene IV. iv. 25.

‡ In court that time was gude Sir David Lyndesay,
In vulgar toung, he bure the bell that day.
Roland's Court of Venus, (1575.)

for a bell which was the prize.* In the temporary museum at South Kensington, two bells were exhibited which had been given by the corporation of Carlisle on occasions of this kind.

The hawks' bells were well known. They are noticed in the Shuttleworth Accounts at September, 1612, or 250 years ago—

"A paire of hauckes bells, vj^{d}."

Gwillim depicts them, of the form which is very well known, in his *Display of Heraldry*, pp. 316, 317. Shakspeare alludes to the practice of hawking, when he represents the Earl of Warwick as saying †—

Neither the king, nor he that loves him best,
The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,
Dares stir a wing, if Warwick shake his bells.

There are also allusions in numerous other writers. ‡

On an ivory casket, in the possession of S. W. Stevenson, Esq., bells are represented as suspended under a cart, on which Sir Lancelot du Lake is lying; and, in Gawin Douglas's *Palace of Honour*,§ bells are represented as suspended from a cart or chariot—

Quhair fra dependant hang thair megir bellis—
Sum round, sum thraw, in sound the quhilks excellis,
All wer of gold of Araby maist fine,
Quhilks with the wind concordandlie sae knellis
That to be glaid thair sound all wicht compellis.

The bell was also used by the lazar or beggar, as a substitute for his customary clap-dish—

The wretched lazar with clinking of his bell,
Hath life which doth the courter's life excell. ||

* Paper by the Hon. Sir Edward Cust; in the Transactions of the His. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh., I., 145. At Paisley, in Scotland, the silver bells, given by the town, are still run for at intervals on the race-course.—(P. D.)

† 2 Hen. VI., Act i., Sc. 1.

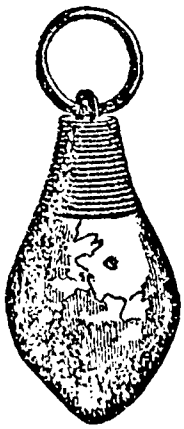
‡ One tyme the hawkes bells jangleth hye
Another tyme they flutter with their winges.
Barclay, Indecent Conduct in Church.

In the old ballad of *The Broomfield Hill*, the knight reproaches his gay goshawk for letting him sleep while a lady came and went. The reply is—

I clapped wi' my wings, Master,
And aye my bells I rang.
Minstrelsy of the Border, II., 224.

§ I., 26.

|| Barclay's Cytyzen and Uplondish Man. Per. Soc., xlix.



Ancient Crotal.

At the end of the spear of a Caledonian warrior, a bell is represented;* and it is somewhat curious that a tassel is found in precisely the same position in spears which are sculptured on the slabs of Nineveh.†

The crotal, or pear-shaped bell, has been found in large numbers in Ireland; and one is here represented from the Dowris find, near Parsonstown. Like all of them, it is of a peculiar yellow brass, conventionally known as Dowris brass. It is six and a half inches long with the ring, and eight in circumference.

The ceremony of excommunication in the Roman Catholic Church, is "by bell, book, and candle-light;" but natives of England have some difficulty in understanding allusions to it. Shakspeare's expression, put into the mouth of Faulconbridge,‡ refers to this subject.§

> Bell, book, and candle shall not drive me back,
> When gold and silver becks me to come on.

In our old English monuments, the figure of the bell and crucible point out the resting-place of a bell-founder; one like him whose labours Schiller has commemorated in his immortal poem.‖

4. *Bells in this Collection.*—These are eight in number,¶ in whole or in part, of which six are brass or bronze, and two pewter; all of them of the kind that would be attached to small animals like hawks or dogs. Even fig. 10, Plate XXVI.,

* Meyrick and Smith.

† Layard's Illustrations, Pl. xiv.

‡ King John, iii., 3.

§ In Sir David Lindsay's Satire of the Three Estates (Act ii. Sc. 2), the Pardoner refers to ordinary worship.

> Thocht ye haif na discretioun,
> Ye sall haif full remissioun,
> With help of buikis and bellis.

‖ The following account of bell-makers, is given by John de Garlande in the early part of the thirteenth century—

"Artifices illi subtiles, qui fundant campanas de here sonoro per quas in ecclesiis hore dici denunciantur, motu batillorum et cordarum attractarum." —*Mayer's Vocab.*, 125.

¶ Mr. Akerman thinks that the larger ones were used in connexion with mules.

seems too small for a sheep's bell; and there are none that would be suitable for horses.* Figs. 7 and 8 are the lower hemispheres of little bells like hawks' bells; the latter having an opening of the usual kind; and the former has also a slit across it. Fig. 11 is of lead or pewter, with leaves like the petal of a flower; and fig. 9 appears to be the tongue of a hand-bell. It is possible that the object figured, Plate XXIX., fig. 13, was also the tongue of a bell; but it may have belonged to a chatellaine. A smaller and more elegant bell than any of these, and which had evidently belonged to a hawk, was procured by Mr. Smith; but it was so fragile that it crumbled to pieces, on slight contact, in the little box which contained it. Of the objects engraved, figs. 7 and 10 are from Mr. Smith's collection; 8 and 9 from Mr. Mayer's; and fig. 11 from the one which I suppose Mrs. Longueville to possess.

XXVI.—CRUCIFIXES AND CROSSES.—Plate XXVI.

1. *General Remarks.*—When the Chevalier Bayard fell in defence of the Milanese, in 1524, he fixed his eyes on the guard of his sword as a cross, and repeated his parting prayers.† The Irish peasant, too, extemporises the religious symbol, when he clasps his hands and swears "be thim five crasses."

Crosses were formerly very numerous, as, for example, when we read that there were 300 in Iona, most of which are supposed to have been of wicker-work,‡ and filled with sand or earth.

> When at each cross, on girth and wold,
> (Their number thrice an hundredfold,)

* Three are in Mr. Smith's possession, three in Mr. Mayer's, one in my own, and one I think in Mrs Longueville's.

† Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Book III.

‡ This is the theory of Mr. G. J. French of Bolton; and there are strong probabilities in its favour. So many stone crosses could not have been manufactured in those primitive times; while at the same time, by assuming crosses of wicker-work, we account for their disappearance, and for the interlaced patterns on stone, common in subsequent times.

His prayer he made, his beads he told;*
With aves many a one.†

They were, besides, nearly infinite in their varieties of shape, as may be inferred from the fact, that ecclesiastics appended to their signature each his own particular form of cross. Accordingly, those which are discovered from time to time are very varied.

Mr. W. M. Wylie has described leaden‡ crosses bearing inscriptions, from old cemeteries in France and England; and the Abbé Cochet, in a series of articles, has described the sepulture of Anglo-Normans at Bouteilles, near Dieppe,§ where similar crosses were found. In reference to the material of these, he says,—"Soumises à l'examen de la chimie, mes croix n'ont offert à la perspicacité de M. Girardin de Rouen, que du plomb pur et sans aucun alliage."‖ In one instance, the lead of the cross had entirely perished. "Il avait possédé autrefois une croix de plomb; mais comme le métal était de mauvaise qualité, elle est tombée en morceaux par suite d'oxidation."¶ M. Fred. Troyon, in describing some antiquities from Chavannes, in the Pays de Vaud, Switzerland, notices two Greek crosses of iron; but, as they exhibit no signs of the Christian faith, he supposes they are parts of horse-harness.**

The fylfot cross appears on the well-known D'Aubernon brass, in Stoke-Daubernon Church, Surrey. It is described in *Boutell's Treatise on Brasses*, p. 28 *n.* Respecting this cross, it is stated that it was of Oriental origin. "The Fylfot, a kind of cross potent rebated, was of oriental origin, and used as the symbol of a religious sect in India and China, as early as the tenth century before the Christian era. It is found on Runic obelisks at Carew and Nevern, and was a frequent ornament

* That is, reckoned. I may tell (count) all my bones, Psal. xxii. 17. "Every shepherd tells his tale, (*i. e.*, reckons his number, viz., of sheep,) Under the hawthorn in the dale."—*Milton, L'Allegro.* Dr. Kennedy in *Notes and Queries.*

† Scott, Lord of the Isles, ii., 21.

‡ Archæologia, XXXV., 300.

§ Ib., XXXVII., 36.

‖ Ib., XXXVI., 264.

¶ Ib., XXXVII., 403.

** Archæol., XXXV., 397, 398; Plates xvii., xviii.

of the apparels of ecclesiastical vestments, belts, &c., in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, after which it is very rarely to be met with."* Crosses of various forms occur upon sepulchral slabs; for which it may be sufficient to refer to Mr. Cutts's book.† M. Cochet found on a skeleton a "cross of absolution," from which the man's name‡ was ascertained.

A very rude stone cross was obtained in taking down the ancient church of Bakewell, in Derbyshire.§ It resembles one of ours which is not engraved here. A very ancient cross of silver, which had formerly been gilt, and containing a relic, is described in the Journal of the Archæological Association.‖ It was shown by Mr. Lindsay of Cork, and is thought to be of the thirteenth century.

Among the Rev. Mr. Hugo's pilgrim signs of pewter, found in the Thames, is a crucifix in the form of a Tau, or St. Anthony's cross, with the word "signum" engraved on the horizontal bar.¶ Chaucer represents his Pardoner as having a cross of latten **—

He had a crois of laton, full of stones ;††

and one of that material, and of the fourteenth century, was discovered in the churchyard of Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, in 1853.‡‡

3. *Examples in this Collection.*—The number of crosses in this collection is fourteen, all of which, with one exception, are of lead. The remaining one is of brass or bronze. Eight of these are in Mr. Mayer's collection, five in Mr. Smith's, and one in my own. From the long projecting bar of several of

* Cutts's Introd., l.

† Plates xxxv. to lxxxiii.

‡ Archæol., XXXVII., 401.

§ Cutts's Manual, Plate iv.; see also p. 61.

‖ Vol. VI. p. 441.

¶ Archæol., XXXVIII., 128.

** The term "latten," which has occurred more than once, is thus explained by Johnson—"Brass; a mixture of copper and caliminaris stone." Theobald, (in his note on the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, i., 1,) quoting from Dacier, says—"C'est une espèce de cuivre de montagne, comme son nom mesme le temoigne; c'est que nous appellons aujourd'huy du *leton*." "It is a sort of mountain copper, as its very name imports, and which we at this time of day call latten."

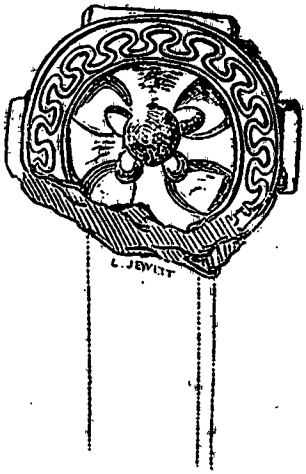
†† Prologue to the C. T.

‡‡ Proceedings S. A., III., 126.

them, and the absence of all care in their finish, it is clear that they were not used for religious purposes, but were probably used as winders for thread.

Fig. 14 appears to be a *bona fide* cross; and one of the same size and form has a hole at the top, showing that it was meant to be suspended. Fig. 12 is a small crucifix, which appears to have been broken off a wire. The Saviour is represented as leaning to the right side. Fig. 13 is the one which is not of lead. It is more than two inches across the bars, and belongs to the class called potent, or hammer-headed. It is also slightly floreated, and has a hollow circle in the centre, at the bottom of which is a minor incised cross. This space appears to have been occupied by a setting. Mr. Franks pronounces both 12 and 13 to be Saxon. All the three engraved here are from Mr. Mayer's collection.

A large Saxon cross of the red sandstone of the neighbourhood, is in my possession, procured a few years ago from Hilbre island. It was probably the identical cross represented in Camden's map, and marking the site of the holy place. It is shown here. Its diameter is twenty-three inches.



The Hilbre Cross.

XXVII.—SPOONS.—PLATE XXVI.

1. *General Remarks.*—The Israelites in the wilderness had spoons of the precious metals; those of gold for the service of God, and of silver among the princes of the tribes.* The ordinary ones, however, must have been of commoner materials. The forms were sometimes very beautiful, and we are surprised by the variety of designs. An American author, in a work published at New York in 1845, says:—"In these forms we have the turns of thought of old artists; nay, casts of the very thoughts themselves. We fancy we can almost see a Theban spoonmaker's face brighten up as the image of a new pattern crossed his mind; behold him sketch it on papyrus, and watch every movement of his chisel or graver, as he gradually embodied the thought, and published it in some of its forms, securing an accession of customers, and a corresponding reward in an increase of profit."†

Roman spoons have been found in this country; one at Bucklersbury, London.‡ Others, of white metal, have been turned up from the bed of the Thames, near Kingston.§ In the Expenses of the Wardrobe of Edward III., mention is made of a large spoon of silver, apparently for oil.‖ In an inventory of the plate belonging to the nursery of Queen Catherine Parr's child (1548), occurs the following entry—"Item,¶ eleven spones, silver, all white." A spoon of mixed metal, with perforated gilt bowl, was found at Stodmarsh, in the valley of the Stour, and is engraved in the *Archæologia,* Vol. XXXVI., Plate xvi. Spoons are less commonly found than personal ornaments, the latter having been frequently interred with the owners. Wooden spoons of great variety exist among the primitive people of various nations; one from Abyssinia, in the possession of the writer, is an elegant specimen of carving.

* Exodus xxv.

† "The spoon, Primitive, Egyptian, Roman, Mediæval, and Modern;" quoted in the *Art Journal* for March, 1862.

‡ Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, III., 90.

§ Ib. I., 93.

‖ Archæologia, XXXI., 58, 59.

¶ Reliquæ Antiquæ, II., 17.

Among our ancestors spoons of horn were common; and in rural districts they are still so. They were made by "horners,"* and afterwards by travelling craftsmen like tinkers. In the old Scottish ballad entitled "*The Wowing of Jok and Jynny*," the bridegroom enumerates as among his possessions, "Ane trene trenchour, ane ramehorne spone;" † and Sir Richard Maitland, in 1561, records of the *Thievis of Liddisdail*, "They leif not spendil, spone, nor speit." ‡ But a spoon, which shows more originality than even the sea-shell of the Australian native, is one preserved in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. It is formed by cutting off the hollow of one of the vertebræ of a large mammal. § Of the more important kind of spoons and ladles, there are thirty-three varieties in that interesting collection.

In our old English mansions, there are numerous rare and beautiful spoons preserved, the workmanship of four centuries. One, in the possession of the Duke of Richmond, of gold, or silver gilt, is in the form of a swan; and the Apostle spoon, ‖ and other spoons which were in the temporary museum at South Kensington, deserve particular notice. These were contributed by R. T. Frere, Esq., Sir William Holburne, Bart., W. Sterling, Esq., the Innholders' Company, G. H. Head, Esq., &c. One large silver spoon, with long handle rudely cut off, reminded one of the Scotch proverb—"They need a lang-shanket spune that sup kail wi' the deil." ¶ The cost of spoons is seen in

* Hence the Scottish proverb, to "mak a spune or spoil a hornie." "A dozen of horn spoons in a bunch, as the instruments meetest to eat furmenty porrage withal."—*Nichols's Progresses.*

† Bannatyne MSS., 1568.

‡ Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, III., 105.

§ Wilde's Catalogue, p. 267.

‖ See Harland's note on Apostle spoons, &c. Shuttleworth's Accounts, p. 1004. Imitations of them are beginning to be common at present.

¶ Henderson, p. 12. This must have been a very common proverb, as it occurs frequently—

> Therefore behoveth him a ful long spono
> That shall ete with a fend; thus herd I say.
> *Chaucer, The Squieres Tale.*

Marry, he must have a long spoon that must eat with the devil.

Shakspeare, Comedy of Errors, iv., 3.

He that eats with the devil without a long spoone, his fare will be ill.

O. P., Harry White his Humour.

July, 1602, as we read in the Shuttleworth Accounts—"ij dozen pewter sponnes, xx^{d}." p. 146; and in July, 1613,—"one dozen of pewter spownes xij^{d}." p. 210. Four pewter spoons, *temp.* Elizabeth, were found, 11th Feb., 1853, at Walton-le-Dale, Preston.*

2. *Special Remarks.*—In this collection there are only two, figs. 15 and 18, both of pewter, and both old;† but there are two small ones of iron, figs. 16 and 17, which appear to have been used for cosmetics.‡ The bowl of fig. 15, which remains, bearing some resemblance to an inverted pear, is not an uncommon form; and the top of the handle is decorated by a rude acorn-cup and acorn. In the Inventory of the Goods of Dame Agnes Hungerford, 1523, we have enumerated—"Item, a dossen of sponys with akornes on the end."§ Of fig. 18 little remains but the handle, at the top of which a figure is squatted, apparently that of a monkey. Jointly, therefore, they afford illustrations of wit and rustic life. All these engraved here belong to Mr. Mayer. It was suggested by one archæologist, that the objects represented in figs. 16 and 17 might have been pocket weights, like those referred to in *Collectanea Antiqua*, II., 19.

Some time previous to 1849, in raising St. Martin's cross in the island of Iona from its fallen position, a curious little spoon, apparently of bronze, was found underneath it. The object, which is now in the possession of the Duke of Argyle, was about four inches long; the bowl was oval and shallow. During the engineering operations in the Lower Bann, previous to 1852, a small gold spoon was discovered, which is represented in the annexed wood-cut. A dignitary of the Roman Catholic church explains that such spoons were used

* Journal Arch. Assoc., VIII. 325.

† A. W., V.

‡ Sir Gardiner Wilkinson has figured several elegant spoons used by the Egyptians for similar purposes. In one, a hand holds forth a shell, and the arm becoming attenuated as the handle, terminates in a goose's head. In another, the spoon is in the form of a cartouch, a graceful female figure holding it in her arms. The body at full length is the handle.

§ Archæologia, XXXVIII., 361.

Gold Spoon from the Lower Bann.

formerly in religious rites, to mix a single drop of water with the sacramental wine. Some years ago, in walking through the grounds of the County Lunatic Asylum at Lancaster, I picked up a little spoon very like this from the Lower Bann. It had been carved out of a small piece of mahogany, apparently by one of the patients.

XXVIII.—EAR-PICKS.—Plate XXVI.

Shakspeare makes Thersites say,* in abusing Agamemnon, that he hasn't so much brain as ear-wax, and it is obvious that our ancestors paid particular attention to this secretion and to its removal. In graves of almost every class in this country, ear-picks are found. One of bronze attached to a pair of tweezers, is described in the Honourable Mr. Neville's account of his explorations near Chesterford. At the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery of Long Wittenham, in Berks, one was discovered† by the side of a young woman—and in general with the remains of women, were found "fibulæ, glass, amber beads, tooth-picks, ear-picks, tweezers, and occasionally bunches of keys.‡ At Kingston Down, in Kent, in 1767, ear-picks and tooth-picks of silver, each 2¼ inches long, were found at a Chatellaine on a slender silver wire.§

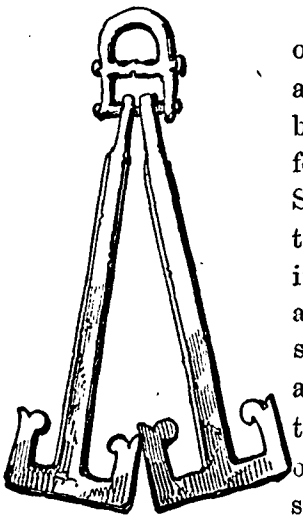
In 1771, another of silver was found at the same place, on a silver gilt ring, with a similar object attached, 1¾ inches long. A gilt silver pin which was found near it, with flatted and pierced head‖ for a hole, had probably been broken off the same ring. At a Roman villa at Hartlip in Kent, tweezers and an ear-pick were found on a ring, almost of the same kind

* Troilus and Cressida, v., 1.
† Archæolog., XXXVIII., 337.
‡ Ibid., XXXVIII., 331.
§ Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 42, Pl. xii., fig. 1.
‖ Ib., p. 67, Pl. xii., 3.

that we find in Saxon graves.* In this collection there are only two, both of bronze; Plate XXVI., figs. 20 and 21, and as usual they are constructed for suspension. In one which is plain and long, the eye is broken away; in the other, one end seems to form the eye, and then to be twisted round the stem with nine circumvolutions.

The object engraved along with needles, Plate XXII., fig. 4, has probably been an ear-pick, as its twisted shank militates against the idea of its having been a needle.

XXIX.—THE GYPCIERE.—Plate XXVI.



Saxon Mountings of Purse.

1. *Its use generally.*—The remains of the *marsupium*, or purse, called in a vocabulary of the tenth century by the Anglo-Saxon name *Seod*, are found not uncommonly in the Anglo-Saxon graves of the pagan period;† thus proving the antiquity of its use in this country. One of the most ancient examples of the gypciere or satchel purse, is found on the effigy of a knight at Iona.‡ About the fourteenth century we sometimes find it ornamented round the edge with a series of balls or buttons, as in the case of an ecclesiastic engraved by Strutt.§ In Chaucer's description of the carpenter's wife, he says—

> By hire girdel heng a purse of lether
> Tasseled with silk and perled with latoun.‖

During the same century it was sometimes ornamented with

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* Collectanea Antiqua, II.

† Wright's Note in Mayer's Vocab., 83.

‡ Captain Hamilton Smith, Pl. 21, quoted by Planche.

§ From Cott. MSS., Tib. A, 7.

‖ The Milleres Tale.

a central stud * like that on the belt, and accompanied with a dagger. In the fifteenth and sixteen centuries there were similar balls or buttons, and occasionally decorations like beads in front.† It was sometimes worn, not at the side,‡ but suspended from the girdle behind.§ In the Shuttleworth Accounts (1621) is the following entry—"Scripe, a leather satchell for the servantes use, viij^{d};" so that the satchell, the antiquated separable pockets of women, and the modern railway retique or bag, were all designed to serve a similar purpose. In his description of ancient Germany, Munster in his wood-cuts represents the workers ‖ in metal as having hung up their bags or gypcieres in the booth. In a carving in Ludlow church, two men support a barrel. Each has a leathern pouch or gypciere at his belt, but they are of different kinds, one having metallic ornaments at the corners.¶ The family of Palmer bears in its arms three palmers' scrips *sable*, with tassels and buckles *or*.

Numerous examples may be seen on the ancient brasses, where the gypciere was frequently worn along with a rosary, and sometimes a penner and ink-horn were inserted in the belt.** They may also be seen in Strutt, and in Miss Cust's edition of the precursor to *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, entitled "*Pelerinage de l'Ame.*" We sometimes get a hint of their contents, as in *Heywood's Play of Love.*†† The loveless man refers to a book in the purse at his girdle for arguments. Also in the play of the "Shepherds," in the *Chester Mysteries*, when they proceed to supper, Primus Pastor says,

> My sacchell to shake oute,
> To sheapardes I am not ashamed;
> And this tonge pared rounde about,
> With my tonge it shall be atamed.‡‡

* Fairholt, p. 118.

† Harl. MS. 4374, and Roy. 14 E., iv.

‡ With scrip on hip, and pyke-staff in his hand,
As he had been purposit to pass fra hame.
Sir David Lindsay.

§ Strutt, vol. II., Pl. 131.

‖ Cosmographia Universalis, pp. 286, 345.

¶ Journal of the Arch. Association, IV., 210.

** A row of paper in his hand he beir;
A swane's pen stickand under his eir;
An ynk-horn, with pretty gilt pennair;
A bag of silk all at his belt he weir.
Henryson, Prologue to Fables.

†† Fairholt's Introd., xxv.

‡‡ Shaksp. Soc. Ed., p. 123.

The Scottish poet Dunbar alludes to coins as part of the contents, under the name "crosses," as it was usual for each coin to have a cross on one side. The custom has been re-introduced in the case of the florin, by arranging the royal quartering in the form of a cross. In provincial English, also, there is the proverbial expression, "I have not a cross in my pocket," evidently derived from the times of our ancestors.

> My purs is maid of sic ane skin,
> Thair will na corses byd it within.*

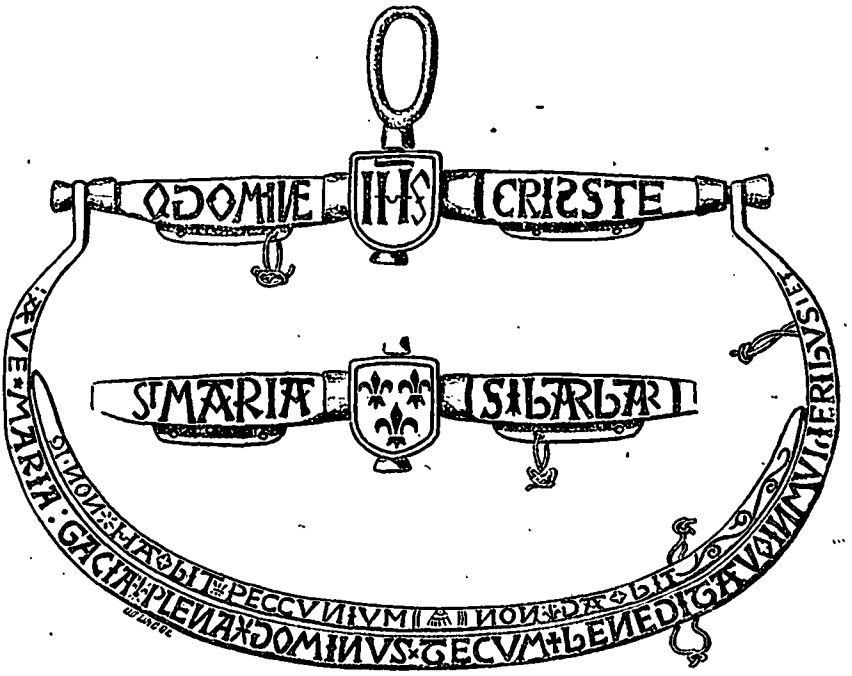
2. *The Metal Parts.*—In general, only the metal mountings of gypcieres or purses are found, which have lain in the earth. An object from Little Wilbraham, and now in Lord Braybrooke's museum, was supposed to be a latch-key; but a discovery made near Caistor in Lincolnshire, showed that, in conjunction with the bow of metal, it formed the top of a purse.†

The Abbé Cochet discovered the clasps and frame of another at Envermeu,‡ and was thus enabled to explain an engraving in Montfauçon. Sometimes the back only is given, the front part being fastened by a buckle and strap; and sometimes the entire framework, one portion lying within the other. There are several such examples in the British Museum; and, before the introduction of the modern French purse with divisions, a small money-bag, almost precisely similar, was not uncommon.

At Long Wittenham, in Berks, the fittings for a purse were found in conjunction with the remains of a young woman;§ and at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Brighthampton, Oxon, the metal framework appears to have been suspended by a funicular ring,‖ which exhibits obvious signs of wear and tear. One, which was found in a pond near Barham, was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, March 3, 1859. It is of brass, 8¼ inches wide, apparently of the fifteenth century, with

* Epistle to the King, cir. 1500.
† Arch. XXXVII., 156.
‡ Wright's Essays, I., 153.
§ Arch., XXXVIII., 337.
‖ Ibid., 97, Pl. iii.

ornaments and letters inlaid in niello. The crossbar at top had a central shield on each side, with the arms of France opposite the monogram IHS., and the words O DOMINE CRISSTE opposite S. MARIA S. BARBAR[A]. On the semi-circular rim was engraved AVE MARIA G[R]ACIA PLENA DOMINVS TECVM. BENEDICTA TV IN MVLIERIBVS ET. On the inner rim, QVI NON HABIT PECCVNIVM NON DABIT.*


O DOMINE IHS CRISSTE
S MARIA S BARBAR
AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA DOMINVS TECVM BENEDICTA TV IN MVLIERIBVS ET
QVI NON HABIT PECCVNIVM NON DABIT

Mounting of Gypciere from Barham, Norfolk.

The gypciere was easily abstracted from the girdle by cutting its fastenings; and hence the "cutpurse" of former times corresponded to the pickpocket or garotter of our own.† In the effigy of Queen Berengaria, in the Abbey of L'Espan, near Mans, the gypciere or *aulmonière* hangs in an exposed position,

* Proceedings S. A., IV., 293. | † Boutell's Mon. Brasses, iii.

with a tempting facility for having the ribbons cut.* One of the Robin Hood ballads calls the outlaw by this name, using it as a general term for robber.

> So being outlaw'd (as 'tis told,)
> He with a crew went forth,
> Of lusty cutters stout and bold,
> And robbed in the North. †

In Machyn's Diary, under the year 1552, the following entry occurs:—"The xi day of July hangyd one James Ellys, the grett pykkepurs that ever was, and cutt-purs, and vij more for theyfft, at Tyburne."

The object shown in our engraving (19*a*), exhibits but a small portion of metal; but there are evidences that a thin slip was fastened within the knobs of the revolving crossbar at top. The object 19*b*, which was found with it, appears to be the tassel or pendant.

XXX.—SEALS AND PILGRIMS' SIGNS.‡—PLATE XXVII.

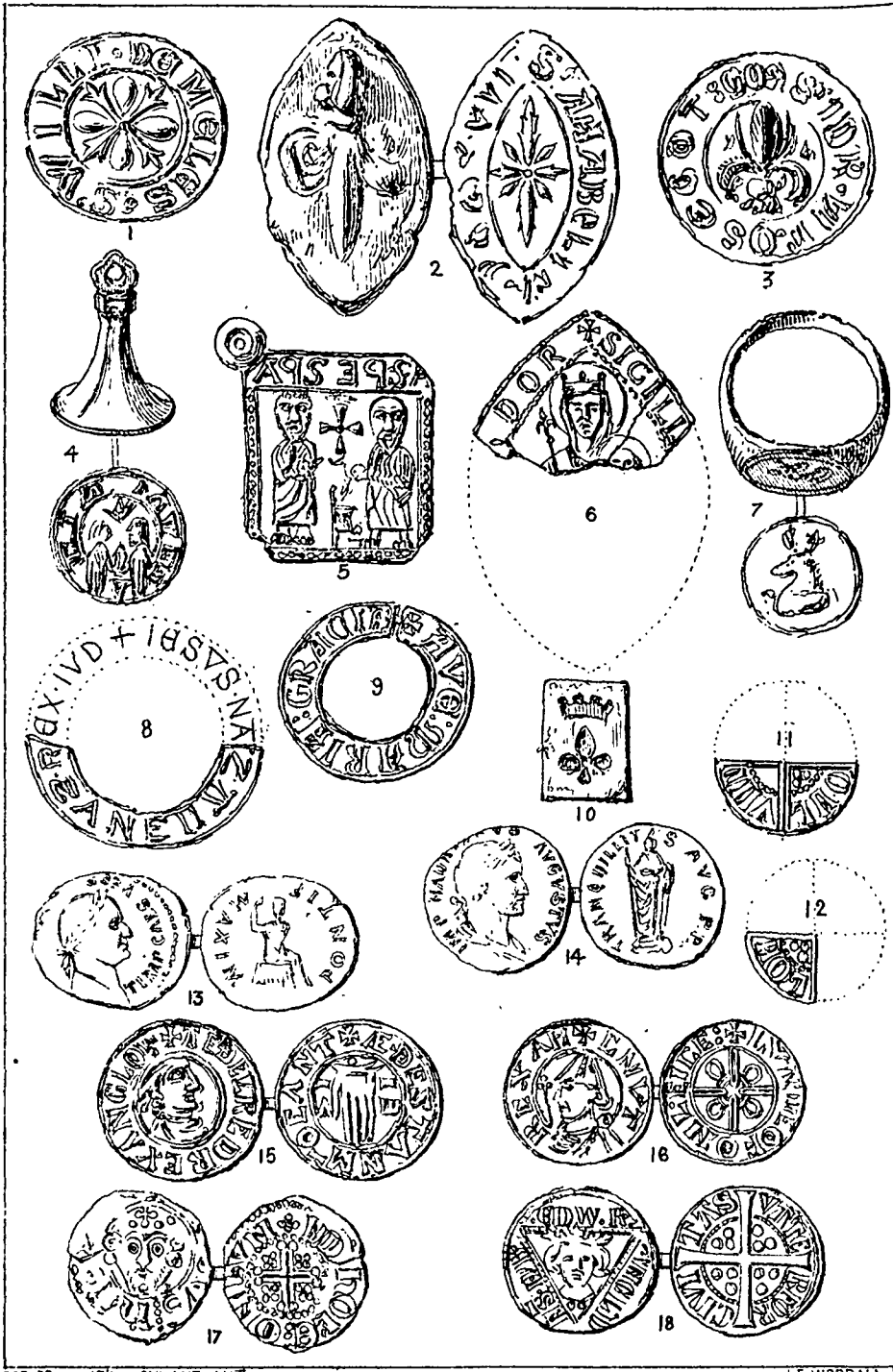
1.—SEALS.

Seals Generally.—The objects ranging under this denomination are by no means of frequent occurrence in this country, despite their common use by individuals of the higher classes of society, both clerical and lay, from the Conquest downward. The high prices they attain whenever offered for sale, attest a still increasing appreciation on the part of the antiquarian public. But, interesting as seals are to the mediæval antiquary, from their use, design, inscriptions, forms, and even composition,

* Stothart's Mon. Effigies; Fairholt's Costume, 99.

† A True Tale of R. H.—*Ritson.*

‡ The articles referring to two of the Plates have been written by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith. These are, Plate XXVII., embracing Seals, Pilgrims' Signs, and Coins; and Plate XXXI., embracing Pottery and Tobacco Pipes. On this last subject, (*q. v.*), the general remarks are mine, the description of the Plate his. In connection with Pottery, he treats of Glass and Enamel. Any illustrative remarks of my own are indicated by my own initials.



FOR Dr HUME'S HOYLAKE, ANT.

J E WORRALL, LITH

SEALS, TOKENS AND COINS.

they prove of yet greater value to the topographer and student of heraldry, through their curious illustration of bygone appellations and devices.

These articles may be divided into four primary classes, viz., the *royal* (including all those of the State), the *personal*, the *religious*, and the *municipal;* the first of these being the earliest nationally used in this country, and probably not much anterior to the reigns of Coenwulf, king of Mercia, and Edward the Confessor, whose great seals of state remain our earliest examples. Seals in lead were, however, common in Roman times, as is proved by the numerous examples discovered in England, and engraved in the third volume of Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua;* and others, also in lead, of the time of Constantine, recently discovered at Richborough, in Kent, and noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

The specimens from the seashore of Cheshire are all of the personal designation. Those of earliest date are composed of lead or pewter, and of this material genuine seals are so scarce, that at a recent archæological meeting in the metropolis, a member attempted to prove that none such originally existed, affirming the few extant to be later *forgeries*, for attachment to wills or other documents of value! Our examples are, however, undeniably authentic, and would even appear to be but types of a numerous contemporary class. It is certain they belonged to persons of distinction, inasmuch as few below the rank of knight were allowed to wear a pendent seal, or *authentic* as it was termed. Private coats-of-arms were interdicted upon such, previously to the commencement of the thirteenth century; throughout it the assumption became more general, but probably it had reached its close ere distant country places like this received the custom. Hence the non-appearance of the arms or crests of the individual owners of the following, which it will be observed are mostly of early date.

Personal Seals.—(1.) Fig. 2. Matrix, lead; shape, oval. Around a proportionally oblong ornament runs the inscrip-

tion, **S'AMABELIE D'LATHVN** *i.e.*, the seal of Amabel de Lathun (now Lathom). Nothing whatever seems to be known concerning this lady, whose name does not appear in its genealogy,* although she must have been a scion of the great Lathom family, of Lathom in Lancashire, and Lathom Astbury, near Congleton, Cheshire, from which have sprung three noble families; viz., Derby of Knowsley and Stanley of Alderley, of the present day, and Monteagle in abeyance. The family pedigree represents Sir Robert Fitzhenry, the founder of Burscough Priory, as first Lord of Lathom, through marriage with a daughter of Orme Fitz-Ailward, possessor of Ormeskirk previously to 1199. It is therefore probable that, although absent from this register, the Lady Amabel was daughter or grand-daughter to Sir Robert, the seal being of thirteenth century workmanship, and from the fact of one of the family estates abutting upon the locality where it was found. This is in the collection of Mr. Jos. Mayer.

(2.) Fig. 1. Matrix, pewter; shape, circular. Around a central flower-shaped ornament is inscribed, **S'WILLI. DE MELES.** This personage was in all probability lord of the manor of Great Meols; but, as the fabrication of the seal evidently appertains to the thirteenth century, a period anterior to the commencement of the authentic pedigree of the family, documentary evidence fails to enlighten us as to his true history and position. We possess, however, in Domesday,† a yet earlier notice of the manor of Meles, by which it appears to have been held by a follower of the Conqueror—Robert de Rodelent, or Rothelant (Roelent of Domesday), Baron of Rhuddlan. This nobleman, who had been brought up at the court of Edward the Confessor, and

* Vide Ormerod's "Miscellanea Palatina."

† "Isdem Robertus (de Rodelent), tenet Melas. Levenot tenuit; ibi una-hida geldabilis: terra est una-caruca et dimidia; ibi est unus Radman et II villani: et II bordarii habent unam carucam. Tempore regis Edwardi valebat XV. solidos, modo X solidos. Wasta invenitur."—*Ormerod's Hist. Cheshire*, II., 272.

knighted by that monarch, was slain by some of his disaffected villeins in Wales, and died without legitimate issue. We are told that shortly subsequent to this, a family settled, here as capital lords, under the Earls (of Chester), and certainly previously to the commencement of the following pedigree.* In proof of this, the *Calendar of the Cheshire Enrolments* (or remaining fragments of the records of proceedings in the Court Palatine) supplies our first documentary evidence, viz., "Temp. William de Vernon, A.D. 1229—1232. Memorial of Recognition in Court that Walter de Meles, Walter his son, 'et eorum sequela,' are free men."†

Probably the "William de Meles" of our seal was a son of the younger Walter here mentioned, supplying one of the numerous missing links between the latter and the John de Meles who commences the pedigree of the family, which we subjoin in its entirety, premising that an existing deed, just alluded to (14 Hy. III., A.D. 1230), refers, but unfortunately not by name, to the father and grandfather of the then existing representative of the family.

"The male line of this ancient family became extinct in the [great] grandson of this man,‡ Thomas Meoles, who resided at Chester. He sold the manor of Pulton-cum-Seacombe in 1695, and was succeeded in his other estates by his sister, Ann Meoles, who also died issueless, and bequeathed her estates to her cousin, Charles Hough, son and heir of William Hough of Thornton, by Elizabeth, the only sister of Thomas Meoles who had issue.

"The manor is now vested in William Ramsbottom, surgeon of Liverpool, in right of his wife, Jane Hough, granddaughter of Charles Hough before mentioned.

"The family of Meoles embarked zealously in the cause of Charles I.; and, if we may judge from the disparity of their marriages after that time, to the alliances which they pre-

* See Appendix, p. 282.

† Ormerod's Chesh., II., 272.

‡ William of Meoles, living in 1613.

viously formed, they were sufferers, in no small degree, from the effects of that disastrous period." *

The name *Meles* is said to be synonymous with *Sandhills*,† and certainly a more appropriate designation could not have been found for a place in constant annoyance, if not absolute danger, from the ever-shifting sandhills of the seaboard. Its orthography in Domesday, as we have seen, was *Melas*.‡ In the Cheshire Rolls, although written Meles, it was probably pronounced bi-syllabically Me-les, and it was not till the time of Henry V. that the letter *o* appears to have been introduced. Later maps, down to the present time, render the name Great Meoles; but it is worth notice that, although following this orthography upon their waggons and carts, yet the villagers never thus pronounce it. In their enunciation it becomes Melse, Melts, the Melts, or the Big Melts—the last to distinguish it from a smaller hamlet on the further side of Hoose and Hoylake, known as the Little Melts.§ Great Meoles is the oldest existing village in the vicinity of the seashore; the seal was found almost immediately opposite to it, and about high-water mark of spring tides, in the autumn of 1857. It is in the collection of the writer of this chapter.

(3.) Fig. 3. Matrix, pewter; shape, circular. Around the central ornament, or "Stafford knot," is inscribed "S' John De Osecott." This seal is similar in size and composition to the preceding, but is in a much less perfect state of preservation; it also belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The badge would appear to indicate the owner as a retainer of the noble house of Stafford.—In the collection of Mr. Joseph Mayer.

(4.) Fig. 4. Matrix, brass; shape, circular; small but with long perforated handle, not unlike what have, until a recent

* Ormerod's Cheshire, II., 272-3.

† See Note, p. 4.—A. H.

‡ Can the original term have any connexion with the Gr. *melas* (black)? Its connexion would, in that case, be apparent with *Dove*, and the *Black Earth*.—A. H.

§ Frequently "the Melsh."—A. H.

period, been attached to watches, and may still occasionally be noticed on the persons of old country gentlemen.

This seal, of which two examples have been found, (differing but slightly in minute detail,) represents the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, so graphically described by St. Luke, chap. i. The inscription surrounding the figures is simply the opening words of the salutation, "Ave Maria." Date fourteenth or fifteenth century. One of these seals is missing; the other is in the collection of Mr. Joseph Mayer.

(5.) Fig. 7. Matrix, brass; a seal-ring, the collet or face bearing the engraved head of a stag. A similar crest pertains to an ancient neighbouring family; the Stanleys of Hooton and Storeton, foresters of Wirral, viz., "on a wreath a stag's head and neck couped, *argent*; attired (horned) *or*, langued (tongued) *gules*."—In the collection of Mr. Mayer.

The use of the seal finger-ring is very ancient. That it was not unfrequently worn by the monarchs of ancient Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, is evident from the numerous existing examples, often most artistically executed and in excellent preservation. In the book of Esther we read that Mordecai, having written the letters for the governors of the provinces, "*sealed them with the king's ring.*" The early examples were usually of gold or silver, and either engraved or set with graven gems, for use as seals as well as ornament. The inestimable execution of those of Greece and Rome (the workmanship of Greek and Etruscan artists), will ever remain the wonder and delight of all lovers of true art.*

(6.) Fig. 10. Matrix, lead; a small die or stamp bearing a fleur-de-lis and a baron's coronet. Date seventeenth century.

* For details, see Rings, chap. XXI.

MEOLES, OF MEOLES.

FROM THE INQUISITIONS P.M. THE VISITATION OF 1613, HARL. MSS. 2119, AND THE INFORMATION OF THE FAMILY IN THE THREE LAST DESCENTS

Arms.—Argent, a bend sable between two lions' heads sable, langued gules.

Crest.—On a wreath, a lion's head erased, sable, winged, or.

John De Meoles, by deeds without date, lord of the manor of Great Meoles.—Hawisia, daughter of . . . . .

- Bertram De Meoles, lord of Meoles, son and heir, died without surviving issue. Inq. p.m., 23 Ed. III.—
  - Fulco De Meles, son and heir-apparent, o.s.p. *ante patrem.*
- John De Meoles, chaplain, heir to his brother, Inq. p.m., 15 Ric. II.
- Henry De Meoles, married Elena, daughter of . . .—
  - Bertram De Meoles, son and heir, married . . ., daughter and heiress of Sir John De Craven, Kt.—
    - John De Meoles, son and heir of Bertram, son and heir of Henry De Meoles, and next of kin and heir to John De Meoles, chaplain aforesaid, Inq. p.m., 4 Hen. V.—
      - Henry De Meoles, son of John De Meoles, per Inq., 4 Hen. V.—
        - John De Meoles, son and heir of Henry de Meoles, per. Inq., 37 Hen. VI,—Margaret, daughter of Thomas Poole of Poole, in Wirral.
          - John Meoles of Meoles, Esq., son and heir.— . . . . daughter . . . . Starkey of the Lower Hall, in Stretton.
            - William Meoles.
            - Thomas Meoles of Great Meoles, died 1st and 2nd of Philip and Mary.—Margaret, daughter of Thomas Banastre of Bank, Co. Lanc.
              - Thomas Meoles.
              - John Meoles of Great Meoles, living 1566, at the time of the visitation, obiit Nov. 14th, 34 Eliz. Inq. p.m., 36 Eliz.—Katharine, daughter of William Massey, of Puddington, married at Burton, May 5th, 1550.
                - John Meoles, marr. Anne, dau. of Rich. Ashton of Croston, o.s.p.
                - Thomas Meoles, 3rd son.
                - Henry, 4th son, a captain in the army, resident in Grasden in Zealand, had issue Henry, living in Holland, 1655.
                - William Meoles of Meoles Esq., living at the visitation, 1613. Inq. p.m., 4 Car. I.—Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Bunbury of Stanney, Esq.
                - Henry Meoles, 2nd son.
                - William Meoles, 3rd son, marr. Juliana, dau. of . . . Ireland.
                - Thomas Meoles, son and heir.—Margery, daughter of John Gill, of Pulton.
                - William Meoles, 2nd son.
                - Eleanor, wife of Joseph Gill, of Spittal.
                - Thomas Meoles, aged 26 years (1654) and then resident at Chester.—Charlotte, daughter of Thomas Parker of Bidston.
                - Thomas Meoles of Chester, son and heir, married Mary, daughter of William Bristow, tanner, by whom he had Mary, who died before her father.
                - Henry, aged 4 years, 1654, o.s.p.
                - Elizabeth, o.s.p.
                - Anne, sole heiress by survivorship, bequeathed the manor to her cousin, Charles Hough, resided at Chester, and died without issue.
                - William Hough, son and heir, had issue Jane, wife of James Ramsbottom of Liverpool, surgeon, who was seized of the said manor in 1814.
                - Charles Hough, son and heir, inherited the manor of Great Meoles, by bequest of Anne Meoles.
                - Susan, o.s.p., 1663.
                - Elizabeth, wife of William Hough of Thornton-Hough.
                - Margaret, wife of Philip Wilson of Liscard.
                - Bridget, wife of . . . Goodlaw.
                - Catharine, wife of . . . Totty, of Upton.
                - Isabel, wife of . . . . Kniveton
                - Anne Catharine
                - Ellena, wife of John Litherland.
                - Margaret, wife of John Coventry of New Hall.
              - Ellen. Margaret.
              - Jane. Catharine.
            - Alice.
            - Anne.

[The Baron of Rhuddlan, Robert de Rodelent, possessed the manor of Melas at the Conquest.

The following extract from the enrolments in the Cheshire Domesday, is the earliest document which has occurred respecting this family, and shows them to have been in possession at least three generations before the 14 Hen. III. (1330).

"Memorandum: quod recognitum fuit in pleno comitatu Cestriæ, coram d'no Will'o de Vernon tunc justic. Cest. Rog. de Montealto seno. Cest. War. de Vernon, Will'o de Venables, Ham de Mascy, et aliis fidelibus d'ni Comitis ibi præsentibus quod Robertus filius Walteri de Meles, et Walterus filius ejus et eorum sequela, sunt liberi homines, et in hujus rei testimonium id irrotulari provisum est."]

2.—Pilgrims' Signs.*

(1.) Plate XXVII., fig. 6. Fragment (the upper portion) of a Sign of "Our Ladye of Roc St. Amadour," in lead, date 13th to 14th century. Several perfect examples of differing types of this interesting sign have occurred in France; and, connected as they are with a once highly celebrated continental shrine, now utterly neglected, and all but unknown, we cannot do better than transfer to our pages, from the *Collectanea Antiqua* † all the information which appears to have hitherto been gleaned respecting it. Although the first recorded instance of the occurrence of the sign in this country, it yet proves the widely extended fame of the old Hermitage chapel. It is in the collection of the writer of this chapter.

"An oval plate with a representation of the virgin, crowned, nimbed, and holding a sceptre, seated with the infant Jesus in her lap, and inscribed, ✠ 'Sigillum Beate Marie, de Roc Amador.'" M. Hucher correctly assigns the date to the 13th century, or possibly to the early part of the 14th. An example in larger module is etched by Mr. H. W. King (from my own collection), in the "Publications of the Antiquarian etching Club," part III., 1853, and is now in the British Museum. It appears to be of the 12th century, and differs somewhat in detail from M. Hucher's; the nimbus of the virgin is surrounded by a shaded pattern, that of the infant shows three points of a cross, and the embossed legs of the chair terminate upwards, in *fleurs-de-lys*. They both have been cast from the matrices of seals, and adapted for sewing upon the dress.

"Roc-Amadour," M. Hucher tells us, "is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, situate in the middle of the ancient province of Quercy (a division of Guienne in Aquitaine), at eighteen

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* For much carefully collated information on this singular class of reliques, together with illustrations, we may refer to Mr. C. Roach Smith's Collectanea Antiqua, Vols. I. II. IV.; also a paper by Rev. Thomas Hugo, in Archæol., Vol. XXXVIII., p. 129.

† Col. Ant., vol. IV.

kilometers north-east of Gourdon. Placed in the bosom of a site exceedingly picturesque, it seems suspended between heaven and earth. Roc-Amadour owes its renown partly to the worship paid, from the most remote times, to the sacred virgin, in a particular chapel of the church of that locality, and partly to the relics of St. Amadour, which have been preserved there for ages, and of which some remains are still shown. The chapel is of the simplest construction, and its altar is of wood. The effigy of the virgin is small, and painted black. The origin of the pilgrimage of St. Amadour is lost in the night of time; the history of the sacred personage himself is not well understood, some confounding him with the Zaccheus of the New Testament, and others with St. Amateur, Bishop of Auxerre.

"St. Louis, convalescent from a long sickness, made in 1244 a pilgrimage to our Lady of Roc-Amadour, as did Charles le Bel and John of Bohemia, in 1324; and in 1463 the weak and superstitious Louis XI. bestowed at her shrine a share of his devotions, carrying away with him upon his hat, we may suppose, one of the leaden signs of which he was so fond. Friends and enemies equally respected the pilgrims who carried these tokens; and there is on record an account of an Englishman, who had been captured by the soldiers of Cahors, having been set at liberty immediately he was recognized as a pilgrim of our Ladye of Roc-Amadour.* The English acted in like manner; but, to render this privilege available, it was necessary to carry the particular sign (called in the Latin deed *sportula* or *sportella*), bearing upon one side the image of the virgin, and upon the other that of St. Amadour. The people of the town manufactured them in a somewhat different manner, introducing the Veronica, but these were not so esteemed as the others. The Bishop of Tulle, as Abbé of Roc-Amadour, granted the right to the former, and forbad the inhabitants to make them. But they sold both kinds, to earn a livelihood in those troublous times. At last it happened, in 1425, that the bishop permitted the inhabitants to sell both these kinds of signs during two years."†

(2.) Fig. 5. Sign of St. Peter and St. Paul in lead, date 12th century; a thin rectangular plaque, with a small loop at one corner for suspension, the others being abraded. It is inscribed—

* L'Abbé de Fonilhiac, Chron. Manusc. du Quercy, à l'an 1399; *quo* Collec. Antiq., vol. IV.

† Fonilhiac, Manusc. du Quercy, à l'an 1425; *quo* Collec. Antiq., vol. IV.

A-SPE-SPA

Ad
or
Apud } S. Petrum. S. Paulum.

or

Apostoli, S. Petrus. S. Paulus.

Like the Papal bulla-seals,* it represents St. Peter and St. Paul; but, in place of their busts, we have here their figures at full length, the symbolical cross and key between them. Were it not for the quaintly rude character of these figures, implying native workmanship (imitative apparently of the Byzantine), we might suppose this object to have been purchased by one of our forefathers in the eternal city. It may, however, have been fabricated at some national shrine dedicated to these apostles. The reverse is covered with minute patterns variously chequered. It is in the collection of Mr. Joseph Mayer.

(3.) Fig. 8. This is supposed to have been a portion of the rim of a pilgrim sign, the centre of which contained a device. It contained the well-known legend **[IHS NA]-ZARENVS R[EX IVD.]** The material is pewter. It is in the possession of Dr. Hume.—A.H.

(4.) Fig. 9. This object, which is lead, appears to have been part of a brooch, as there is a narrow part of the rim on which an *acus* appears to have been hinged; but it is generally of the same sacred character as the pilgrims' signs. The legend, in Saxon characters, is **AVE MARIA GRACIA.** It is in Mr. Mayer's collection.—A. H.

* Early seals of lead obtained the appellation of *bullæ*, hence the Papal *Bulls*.—See p. 140.—A. H.

XXXI.—COINS.*—PLATE XXVII.

THE examples of the numismatic art found here, do not belong specifically to this district; in fact, none such are known to exist. They constitute, however, a fair chronological index to the several periods of occupation, as also to the general mass of the remains, a portion of which have happily been reserved from a second natural entombment in the submarine sandbanks, and secured from oblivion through the medium of these pages.

The earliest of our series are the *Carthaginian* copper, for the occurrence of which, apart from the maritime position of the settlement, it might have been somewhat difficult to account, but few Greek coins having occurred in England. When we consider, however, the remarkably adventurous spirit which animated the Phœnician and Carthaginian traders, there appears no valid reason why their operations upon our coasts should have been wholly confined to the Cornish and South Irish, as has been too generally and hastily assumed. One of the main attractions of Cornwall was its *lead*, and this metal might then be found in great abundance in our adjacent districts of North Wales, where numerous traces of Roman, if not yet earlier, workings still exist, independently of large quantities of the rough ore then available in some localities upon the very surface of the ground.

The *Roman* and contemporary *British* pieces are not very numerous. The forms are mostly of early date, commencing with the larger brass of the emperors Claudius and Nero; thus showing that, from the beginning of the Roman occupation of this country, a small seaport (if no larger settlement) existed here. Its site was in all probability nearly a mile *seaward* of the present high-water mark of spring tides, and westward of Leasowe Castle. From amidst the leaves, trunks, and

* Written by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.—See note, p. 276.

knotted roots of the monarchs of the ancient forest (a strip of which is always bare upon the beach), the coins and other small objects of this period are washed at the highest tides, especially when these are accompanied by strong northerly gales. The locality lies to the eastward of, and about half a mile from, that reach of the shore where relics of the mediæval times predominate; and this fact obviously points to the conclusion, that the advancing floods have constantly driven the settlement in a south-westerly direction, until, meeting the shifting sandhills from the Dee-mouth, the combined powers have eventually effected its total destruction. The second-brass coin of the Emperor Antonius Pius, unfortunately much corroded, is a scarce and nationally interesting piece, bearing upon its reverse the impersonation of Britannia seated upon a rock, and commemorative of successes achieved by Pius's generals in this country. The small-sized brass require little notice, as they belong to a late period of the empire, and are mostly of rude execution. Elsewhere, Roman sites have produced such in far greater numbers than the larger money; that such is not the case here, is fully accounted for by the complete disappearance of the location of the buildings.

Of the long and dark historic period intervening between the Roman evacuation and the union of the Saxon monarchies, three little coins are, so far as known, the sole numismatic representatives. These are types of the *Styca*, or half-farthing in copper,* a species of money which, until a comparatively recent period, was scarce, and little known even by the antiquary. Its coinage is peculiar to the ancient kingdom of Deira or Northumbria, and is believed to have issued from its capital city Ebraice (York), during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. That it was not, however, exclusively con-

* Thus usually denominated; they are, however, mostly of mixed metal, the predominating copper being more or less fused with gold, silver, lead, tin, or zinc. The name originated in the Anglo-Saxon *Stirce*, synonymous with *minuta pars*.—*Vide* Trans. York. Phil. Soc., Vol. I., 1855.

fined to royalty, is proved by many specimens bearing upon their obverses the names and titles of the spiritual sovereigns, the archbishops; and these were probably the earliest coins issued from the archiepiscopal mint here established, and which continued in operation for many centuries. Stycas of six kings and three archbishops are now well authenticated, whilst a few remain uncertainly appropriated; but the great bulk of the hoards are composed of types of the two monarchs Eanred and Ethelred. These hoards or *trouvailles* (all brought to light within recent dates), generally including many thousands of pieces, have invariably occurred within the recognized boundaries of the kingdom named; and we believe the occurrence even of *single* specimens *without* those limits, as in the present instance, to be quite exceptional, if not hitherto unrecorded.

The era of the united Saxon monarchy was one of considerable vitality in our settlement, if the proportion of coins, taken in consideration with their age, be admitted as a fair index. Individually, also, these pieces are in excellent preservation, far better indeed than most of later dates found here. They include no less than five of Canute the Great; and a fine silver penny of Ethelred II. (the Unready) deserves mention, from bearing on its reverse an emblem of Christianity and a token of its advancement; viz., the hand of Providence placed between the Greek letters *alpha* and *omega*. The pennies of Eadgar and Edward the Confessor are only moieties, the complete coins having been halved presumably for "small change," by a pair of shears or other sharp instrument. The custom of dividing and subdividing coins,* when the smaller coined pieces (halfpence and farthings in silver) were scarce, prevailed at this period, though by no means so generally as about three centuries later. The practice seems to have reached its height during the reigns of Henry III.† and Edward I. and II., despite the severe proclamations thereanent

* *Vide* Pl. XXVII., figs. 11, 12.

† See Note at the close of the article

issued by the first of these sovereigns. For instance, the coins of these kings, catalogued below, comprise more halflings than whole pieces, mingled with numerous *quarterlings*, if we may be permitted to coin the word, the occurrence of which suggest that quartered Saxon pennies may have been the real "*feorthlingas*" of the time. The total absence of any coined farthings of the Saxon era confirms our supposition, which is offered for the consideration of the professed numismatist.

Returning to the English halflings from the Cheshire shore, it will scarcely surprise the reader to note the large proportion designated *uncertain*, inasmuch as in very numerous instances not a single letter of the name (place of mintage) remains. Despite repeated attempts, also, we have never yet succeeded in identifying two moieties as having originally formed one and the same coin.

The great bulk of our heterogeneous series will be found to appertain to the thirteenth century; hence the induction that the settlement then attained the height of its prosperity. From this period its decline appears to have been rapid, pointing to some great flood or other disaster—during which the old forest was levelled and mostly swept away—as a proximate cause. At the commencement of the Elizabethan era, probably not even a single house remained standing upon the beach.

The site of the settlement upon the shores of the Irish sea sufficiently accounts for the presence of numerous coins pertaining to the sister isle, from the silver pennies of King John, first titular "Lord of Ireland," downward to the scarce copper farthings of Elizabeth, since which the coinage of the two countries has been interchangeable.

The whole series is tabulated below in a distinctive form, all the scarcer and more interesting types receiving a full description. Important *trouvailles* of contemporary English coins are also noted for comparison.

CATALOGUE OF COINS.

GREEK.

Denomination.	Obverse.	Reverse.	No
Silver Drachma.	Female head.	A horse standing; coined at Carthage.	3

ROMAN.

Claudius Cæsar, A.D. 41—54.

Second or Middle Brass	"Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. Germ." Bare head of Claudius.	Minerva hurling a javelin; on her left arm a circular buckler.	1

Nero, A.D. 50—68.

Sestertius First or large Brass.	"Nero Cæsar Aug. Ge . . . P.P." Bare head of Nero.	The Emperor on horseback, attended by two soldiers.	1
Do.	Broken and defaced so as to be illegible.	Illegible.	1
Second Brass.	"Nero Cæsar Au. Germanicus." Bare head of Nero.	"Victoria Augusti S.C." A Victory marching with palm branch and garland.	1

Galba, A.D. 68—

Do.	"Imp. Galba Cæsar . . Cos. III." Bare head of Galba.	"Consecratio." An eagle standing with partially expanded wings.	1
Do.	Imp. Galba . . . P.P. Head of Galba.	Inscripton illegible. A female standing with garland and cornucopia.	1

Vitellius, A.D. 69—

Do.	Inscription illegible. Head of Vitellius.	Inscription illegible, badly corroded, and burnt.	1

Vespasianus, A.D. 69—79.

Do.	Inscription, &c., illegible.	Inscription illegible. A female figure standing between S. C. (Senatus Consultum.)	1

Titus, A.D. 71—81.

Sil. Denarius.*	"T. IMP. CÆS. VESP." . . . Laureated head of Titus, (Pl. XXVII., fig. 13.)	"Pontif. Maxim." The emperor seated as High Priest.	1

* Denarius or *Penny*; hence the Anglo-Gallic *denier*. At Wroxeter, the ancient Uriconium, the common Roman brass coins are always termed *duders*, a corruption probably of this designation.

Domitianus, A.D. 69—81.

Second Brass.	"Imp. Cæs. Domit. Aug. Germ." Laureated head of Domitian.	"Annona Aug." The emperor seated, presenting a gift to a young boy; in the exergue, S.C.	1

Hadrianus, A.D. 117—138.

Sil. Denarius	"Imp. Hadrianus Augustus." Laureated head of Hadrian, (Pl. XXVII. fig. 14.)	"Tranquillitas Aug. P.P." Figure of Tranquillity standing with the Hasta. In the exergue "Cos. III."	1
Second Brass.	"Imp. Cæs. Ner. Traian. Hadrianus." Laureated head of Hadrian.	"Pax Cos. III., S. C." Figure of Peace seated.	1

Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138—161.

First Brass.	"Imp. Antoninus Aug. Pius." Laureated head of Pius.	"Virtus Aug., S.C." The goddess of Virtue standing,	1
Do.	Ditto.	Inscription illegible. A female standing.	1
Second Brass.	Ditto.	"Britannia, Cos. III." Britain personified, with shield, &c., seated upon a rock.	1

MARCUS AURELIUS, A.D. 161—80.

Denomination.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	No.
First Brass.	"Aurelius Cæsar Aug. Pii Fil." Bare head of Aurelius.	". . . . III. COS. VIII. . . S.C." A figure standing with spur and cornucopia.	1

FAUSTINA, EMPRESS OF AURELIUS.

Second Brass.	Inscription illegible. Head of Faustina, junior.	Inscription illegible. A Sphinx.	2

CRISPINA, EMPRESS OF COMMODUS, A.D. 180—3.

Do.	Inscription illegible. Head of Crispina.	Inscription illegible.	1

HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS, A.D. 251.

Denarius of base silver.	"Q. Her. Etr. Mes. Decius." Crowned head of Herennius Etruscus.	"Spes Publica." Hope standing with emblems.	1

GALLIENUS, A.D. 253—68.

Third Brass.	Inscription illegible. Crowned head of Gallienus.	"Oriens Aug." The Emperor marching.	1
Do.	"Gallienus Aug." Crowned head of Gallienus.	"Libero . . . . . ." A lion walking.	1

VICTORINUS, A.D. 265—7.

Do.	"Imp. C. Piav. Victorinus." Crowned head of Victorinus.	"Victoria Aug." A Victory marching with palm-branch and garland.	1

TETRICUS (SENIOR), A.D. 267—72.

Do.	"Imp. C. Tetricus . . ." Crowned head of Tetricus.	". . . . . as Aug." A Victory standing with palm-branch and garland.	1
Do.	Inscription illegible. Crowned head of Tetricus.	"Virtus Augustus." Sacrificial instruments.	1

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS, A.D. 268—70.

Do.	"Imp. C. Claudius Aug." Crowned head of Gothicus.	"Felicitas Aug." Felicity standing with caduceus and cornucopia.	1
Do.	"Divo Claudio." Crowned head of Gothicus.	"Consecratio." An eagle standing with expanded wings.	1

POSTUMUS, A.D. 268—9.

Do.	Inscription illegible; head of Postumus.	Illegible.	

TETRICUS (JUNIOR), A.D. 267—72.

Do.	"Imp. Tetricus P. L. Aug." Crowned head of the younger Tetricus.	"Hilaritas Aug." Hilarity personified, holding a wand and a cornucopia.	1

CARAUSIUS, A.D. 287—93.

Do.	"Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug." Bust of Carausius radiated to the right.	Pax. Aug. Peace standing, holding a flower in the right hand, and a long sceptre in the left. In the field, P. O. In exergue, M. L. (Moneta Londinii.). (An unpublished var. of the Pax type, in excellent preservation.)	1

CONSTANTINUS MAGNUS, A.D. 306—37.

Do.	Inscription illegible. Head of Constantine the Great.	"Gloria Exercitus." Two soldiers with spears and shields between two ensigns.	2

CONSTANTIUS II., A.D. 323—61.

Denomination.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	No.
Third Brass	"D. N. Constantius P. F. Aug." Head of Constantius II.	"Fel. Temp. Reparatio." A military figure, armed with shield and spear, striking at an enemy, who is falling from his horse	2

CONSTANS, A.D. 337—50.

Do.	"Constans P. F. Aug." Laureated head of Constans.	"Victoriæ, D. D. Aug. Conn." Two Victories, each with a garland, between them D. In the exergue T. R. P.	2

VALENTINIANUS A.D. 364—75.

Do.	"D. N. Valentinianus Aug." Head of Valentinian I.	Illegible.	1

VALENS, A.D. 364—78.

Do.	"D. N. Valens P. F. Aug." Head of Valens.	"Restitutor Reipublicæ"	1
Do.	Ditto.	Inscription illegible. Two military figures standing.	2

MAGNUS MAXIMUS, A.D. 383—8.

Sil. Denarius	"D. N. Mag. Maximus P. F. Aug." Head of Magnus Maximus.	"Virtus Romanorum." A helmeted female seated, holding a globe and a spear. In the exergue, T. R. P. S.	1
Second and Third Brass	Much worn and illegible.		14

BRITISH.

Small Gold	Much worn.		1
Copper	A bold outlined male head, copied from a Greek original; this is the most frequent type of the ancient British or Gaulish copper, and generally occurs in the Channel Islands.	A rudely shaped horse and wheel, in imitation of some Greek reverse.	2

SAXON AND DANISH.

REDULF, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA.

(Slain at York after a few months' usurpation, A.D. 844.)

Styca, or half-farthing in Copper.	"Redulf Rex;" a small cross in the field. A scarce coin.	"Coenned," one of the eight known moneyers of this monarch; a small cross in the field.	1

ETHELRED, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA, A.D. 840—8.

Do.	"Ethelred Rex," a plain cross.	Moneyer's name illegible.	1
Do.	Ditto.	"Fordred," a plain cross in the centre.	1

Trouvailles of Stycas.—Heworth, Durham: Hexham, Northumberland (80,000), Kirkoswald, Cumberland (600), Mint Yard, York (10,000), Ulleskelf, near York (800).

EADGAR, KING OF ENGLAND, A.D. 958—75.

Sil. Penny.	"Eadg. . . . x" Filleted head and bust of Eadgar.	". . . . : ecefer" (York) A small cross in the centre of the field.	1

Chief Trouvailles.—Inch Kenneth, Hebrides, 1840—Tiree, Hebrides, 1782—Derry Keeran.

ETHELRED II., A.D. 978—1016.

Do.	"Aethelred Rex Anglor." Head and bust of Ethelred II. (the Unready.) Pl. XXVII., fig. 15.	"Aethestan—M—O Cant." (Canterbury.) A hand, denoting that of Providence, between the Greek letters Alpha and Omega. In fine preservation.	1
Do.	"Aedilred Rex Anglorum." Head and bust of Ethelred II., with sceptre in front.	". . . . ric MO. Lu. . ." (London) and "*Crux*," in the angles of a voided cross within the inner circle.	1

CANUTE, A.D. 1016—35.

Denomination.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	No.
Silver penny	"Cnut Recx. An." Head and bust of Cnut with conical crown; sceptre surmounted by three pellets to the right. Pl. XXVII., fig. 16. *Small size.*	"L. . . æof on Leice." (Leicester.) A voided cross within a pearled circle, the limbs not conjoined, but attached by loops, each containing a pellet; in the centre a pellet within an annulet.	1
Do.	"Cnut Recx.". Full bust of Cnut., the head filleted. *Small size.*	"Etsige on Scro," (Scrobbes-burh, now Shrewsbury.) A double or voided cross, the limbs meeting in an annulet, with central pellet, all within a plain circle.	1
Do.	Similar to the last, and in the best state of preservation.	"Swileman (or Swigeman) on WIN." (Winchester.) In the field similar to the last. Swiltman occurs in Ruding's list of the moneyers of this monarch.	1

MEM.—One or more coins of this type were found among a hoard of above 300 pieces of Canute's money, together with armlets of silver (enclosed in cows' horns) in Caldale Moss, near Kirkwall, Orkney, in 1774.— *Vide* Gough's Catalogue of Canute's Coins. Other large *trouvailles* of this sovereign's coins have occurred in Isle of Skye (300), Halton Moor, near Lancaster (500), Cuerdale, near Preston, &c.

Silver Halfpenny.	No legend. Head of Canute.	No legend. Small cross in centre.	1
Do.	Badly struck. do.	Illegible.	1

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, A.D. 1042—1066.

Silver Penny of Edward.	"EADPRD . . . ." Full bust of Edward the Confessor, with sceptre to the right.	" . . . . on Lun" (London). A voided cross with P. A. C. X. in the angles, and a central pellet within an annulet. *Small size.*	1

Trouvaille at Bettam, Westmoreland.

ENGLISH AND IRISH.

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS), A.D. 1087—1100.

Silver Penny	"*Pillem R. Rex.*" Bust of William Rufus, with sceptre and one pellet upon the right shoulder, and three pellets on the left.	P. A. X. S. in angles of a cross *bâtonnée*. *Trouvailles;* York, 1704 (250) and 1845—Beaworth, Hants, (12,000.)	1

HENRY II., A.D. 1154—1189.

Do.	Minted at London, Bristol, &c.; a few illegible. *Trouvailles,* Tealby, Lincolnshire, 1807.—Bed of the Dove, Tutbury, Staffordshire, 1831, (200,000.)	14

JOHN, A.D. 1199—1216.

Do.	Minted at Dublin and Limerick. *No English money known of this reign. Ob.*—Full-faced crowned bust within a triangle. *Rev.*—Star and crescent within a triangle. These objects were styled John's *Livery*, and probably formed his cognizance.	2

HENRY III., A.D. 1216—1272.

Do.	26 minted at London; 7 at Canterbury; 1 at Berwick; 1 at Bristol; 1 at Durham; 1 at Hereford; 3 at Dublin (head in triangle, *a scarce coin*); and 32 uncertain or illegible. (Of the above many are inscribed REX. ANG.)	72

EDWARD I. AND II., A.D. 1272—1327.

	(Numismatists fail to discriminate between the coins of the two first Edwards).	
Do.	30 Minted at London; 14 at Canterbury; 4 at Chester; 8 at Durham; 1 at York; 1 at Berwick; 1 at Bristol; 1 at Dublin; 2 at Waterford, Pl. XXVII., fig. 18; and 16 uncertain or illegible.	63
Halfpenny.	1 minted at London, the others illegible.	3
Farthing.	Mintage uncertain; *a scarce coin.*	2
Penny.	Counterfeit *sterlings* of this period. The *obverse* displays a youthful bust, the head bearing a chaplet of three roses; *reverse,* a cross with three pellets in each angle resembling contemporary coin.	2

EDWARD III., A.D. 1327—1377.

Denomination.		No.
Gold ½ Noble	Known only from description, having been disposed of by the finder to a Jew pedlar.	1
Sil. Groat.	Minted at London.	1
,, Penny.	1 minted at Berwick, and 1 uncertain.	2
,, Half-penny.	Minted at London, *a scarce coin.*	2

RICHARD II., A.D. 1377—1399.

,, Penny.		2
,, Half-penny.	Minted at York. These scarce coins are, as usual, badly clipped.	1

HENRY IV. OR V., A.D. 1399—1413.

,, Penny.	Minted at York.	2
,, ,,	Counterfeit in mixed metal. *Ob.*—Crowned head; no legend. *Rev.*—Cross with pellet-roses in the angles; no legend.	1

HENRY VIII., A.D. 1509—1547.

,, Hf. Groat	Minted at Canterbury.	1

PHILIP AND MARY, 1554—1558.

,, Groat.	*Ob.*—"*Philip et Maria, Rex et Regina.*" Bust of Mary alone, *a scarce coin;* one of them in fine preservation.	2
,, ,,	*Ob.*—"*Philip et Maria, Rex et Regina,*" with heads of Philip and Mary.	1

ELIZABETH, 1558—1603.

,, Groat.	Date illegible.	2
,, Hf. Groat	,, 1563.	2
,, Half Shilling.	,, 1563, 1572, 1575, 1581.	4
,, Quarter Shilling.	,, 1573.	2
,, Two-penny Piece.		1
Copper Farthing.	Irish; dated 1601, *a scarce coin.* Specimins of the first copper money current in the realm since the dissolution of the Heptarchy. A very limited number of these farthings appear to have been struck as an experiment, but they were unaccountably received with disfavour by the Irish, who opprobriously termed them *smutkers.*	3

JAMES I., A.D. 1603—25.

Gold Double Crown	*Ob.*—Bust of James I. *Rev.*—"*Henricus Rosas Regna Jacobus,*" an allusion to the Union of the Roses by Henry (VII.,) and of English and Scottish crowns through himself. First issued in 1604.	1
Sil. Sixpence		1
Cop. Bodle.	The Scotch twopenny piece.	1
,, Half Farthing	Irish.	1

CHARLES I., A.D. 1625—1649.

Sil. Shilling.	Mint mark, *an eye.*	1
Copper Farthing.	Scotch; thistle crowned.	1
Do.	Irish: David, king of Israel, seated with face upturned, and playing upon a harp; above, a crown. Inscription, "*Floreat Rex.*" *Rev.*—"*Quiescat Plebs.*" St. Patrick in full canonicals driving the "varmint" out of Ireland; behind, a cathedral.	1
Copper Half Farthing.	English. *Rev.*—The royal rose.	3

CHARLES II., A.D. 1660—85.

Silver Two-pence.	A "Maundy" piece without date.	1
Cop. Penny or Hlfpenny.	Token (provincial), illegible, being both much worn and corroded.	1
Cop. Penny.	Do. (do.), *Ob.*—"*Thomas Knight;*" a roll of tobacco in the field. *Rev.*—"*Of Carnarvan,* 1667;" 1D in the field, with a star to the left.	1
,, Farthing	"*Carolus a Carolo.*" *Rev.*—Britannia seated.	5

JAMES II., A.D. 1685—9.

Denomination.		No.
Shilling.	"Gun money," dates, *Feb.* and 10r (October) 1689, (*Old Style.*)	3
Do.	*Pewter*, with plug of *brass* in centre. *Ob.*—Head of James II. in very low relief. *Rev.*—Plain: *a scarce piece.*	1
	The above are fair examples of James's Irish mintages, in which all sorts of articles in copper, brass, &c., were employed.	

WILLIAM III. AND MARY, A.D. 1689—94.

Guinea.	These pieces (lost probably in one of Williams's vessels wrecked here) are still occasionally picked up on the old "Mockbeggar" bank, and upon Hilbre Island. Several are preserved at Leasowe Castle in a box formed from the black oak of the ancient forest, but they are usually found to be much worn, and soon reach the melting pot. Estimated number—	30
Halfpenny.	Much worn.	2
Farthing.	English; date 1690.	2
Do.	Irish; date 1694.	1

WILLIAM III., A.D. 1694—1702.

Shilling.	Date, 1697.	1
Halfpenny.	,, 1698, 1699, 1701; Irish, date illegible.	5
Farthing.	Irish.	1

MISCELLANEOUS.

Sil. Penny.	Of Alex. II. king of Scotland, A.D. 1214—49. *Ob.*—"*Alexander Rex.*" Head of Alex. II., with sceptre to the right. *Rev.*—A voided cross terminating in pellets, with a six-pointed star in each angle, within a pearled circle.	4
,, Denier.	Anglo-Gallic (?) *Ob.*—"*Dux . . . . . angie*;" a lion rampant upon a spade shield. *Rev.*—"*I Dei Gratia*;" a voided cross terminating in pellets, with W. A. L. T. in the angles.	2
Brass Counter.	Fabricated at Nuremberg, 16 century, various types.	11
Cop. —?	*Ob.*—"*Dei G . . .*;" an eagle with expanded wings. *Rev.*—"*Rex Sicilie.*" Possibly a coin of John, king of Sicily and Arragon, who reigned 1458-79.	1
Do.	Sigismund of Poland.	1
Cop. Jetton.	*Ob.*—"*Ferdinandus Rex*;" a crowned head. *Rev.*—"*Equitas Re Ni*;" probably intended for *Equitas in re*; a horse walking.	1
Do.	Continental. *Ob.*—A spade-shield charged with three Fleur-de-lys, "*Useum cum Trer.*" *Rev.*—A triple-barred cross within a quatrefoil, a small cross in centre, and T in each angle.	1
	Total number of Coins and Tokens,	347

ABSTRACT—CLASSIFICATION.

Roman and Greek (Col.)	Coins	58
Ancient British	do.	3
Saxon and Danish	do.	12
English, Scotch, and Irish	do.	251
Miscellaneous Pieces		23
Total number		347

NOTE.—*Dies in lead*, about half an inch square, and stamped in relief with a cross or quatrefoil within a beaded square border, sometimes occur. They may possibly date from the 8th to the 13th century, and being alike in size, and of uniform types, the writer conceives they have served in lieu of legal coin when silver was scarce. This supposition appears to be confirmed by the occurrence of similar objects *among Stycas of Ethelred of Northumbria*, near Peverel Castle, Derbyshire, in 1814.—*Vide Bateman's Descriptive Catalogue of his valuable Museum*, p. 162.

NOTE.—About the year 1248, Henry III. issued a new coinage, and former mintages having been subjected to a very general clipping, *he caused the voided cross* upon the reverse, which had previously only occupied the centre, to be extended to the outer edge of the piece, thus rendering *any mutilation* apparent. So general had the cross become upon coins, that for some time the words appear to have been synonymous, as illustrated in the following quotations—

Touch.—"For my part I had rather bear with you than bear you, yet I should bear no *cross* if I did bear you, for I think you have no money in your purse.—*Shakspeare. As You Like It*, ii. 4.

"They were so pin'd
They could not find
A *cross* left in their purses."
Civic Garland p. 70.

They may have shame to jet so up and down,
When they be debtors for doublet, hose, and gowne;
And in the taverne remayne they last for lag,
When never a *crosse* is in their courtly bag.
Barclay, Cytezen and Upl. Man, xii.

See also notice, p. 274, under the head "Gypcieres."

XXXII.—MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES, METAL.

PLATES XXVIII., XXIX.

1.—OBJECTS UNCLASSED.—PLATE XXVIII.

ON Plate XXVIII. a number of articles have been engraved which require to be noticed separately, as they do not admit of grouping under several heads.

(1.) Fig. 1 represents a portion of a leaden brooch, akin to Plate V., fig. 7. It is of coarse rude workmanship, like Plate VI., fig. 8. Fig. 2, also lead, is probably a portion of a pilgrim sign* on which the features of Peter and Paul were impressed. It is of early manufacture,†—(For Pilgrim Signs, see Chap. XXX.)

(2.) Fig. 3 has been engraved as if it were a small fermail or buckle-brooch, the dotted line representing the *acus;* but it may have been an ornamental object for suspension, like some of those to be alluded to. It is brass.

(3.) The uses of figs. 4, 5, 6, which are all of brass, are unknown; but it has been surmised that they were somehow connected with horse-harness, as pendants of an ornamental kind. Fig. 6 is like a swing handle of a coffer or drawer; and fig. 5 is said to be of the fifteenth century.‡

(4.) Fig. 7 is of lead or pewter, the triangular portion of which originally stood at right angles to the plane of the lower portion. The latter has been bent up, however, so as to appear along with the former. Fig. 8, of brass, is part of a swivel, and reminds one of the objects described under the head of Hasps—p. 114. See Plate X., figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Fig. 9 is a massive human head of brass, with projections at the sides, and something like embryo horns. Figs. 10 and 11 appear to be counters of lead. They are evidently stamped from the same die.

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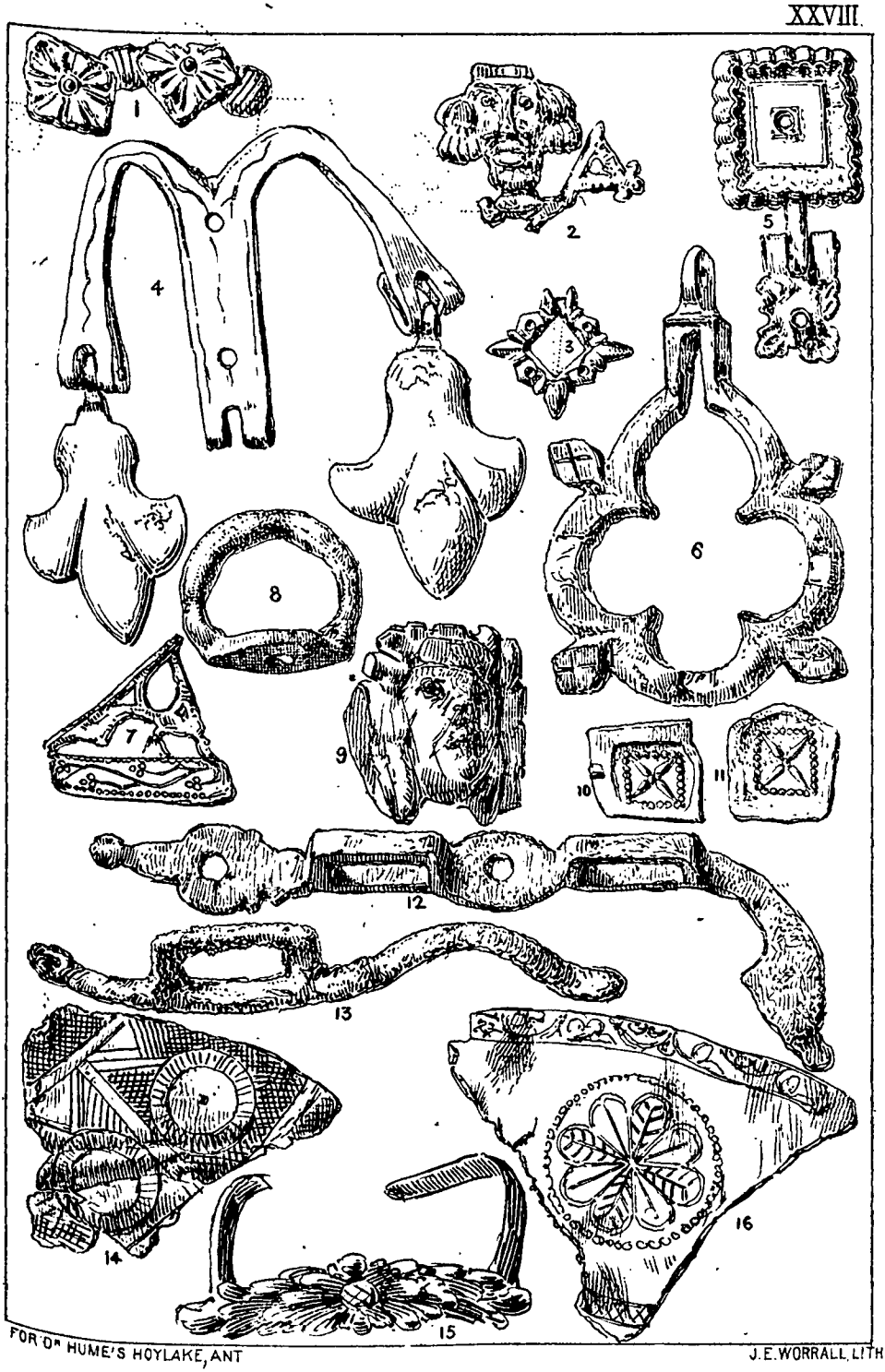
* A. W. F.
† C. R. S.
‡ A. W. F.



FOR Dr HUME'S HOYLAKE, ANT

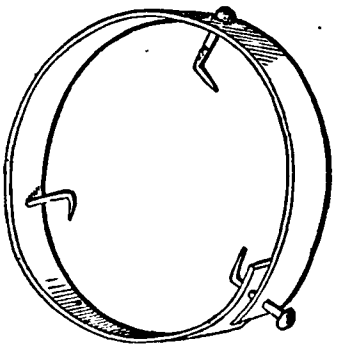
J.E.WORRALL, LITH

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES-METAL-A.

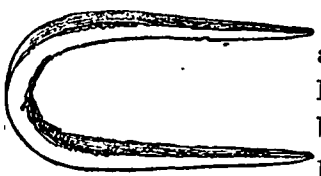
(5.) Figs. 12 and 13 are of iron, in some respects resembling the fastenings at the leaves of a dining-table; but the two openings are both on fig. 12, and fig. 13 appears to have been perfect with only one. One can conceive numerous purposes which such implements would serve; but it is difficult to offer a probable conjecture as to the real one.

(6.) Figs. 14 and 16 are both of stamped lead or pewter; and it has been conjectured that the latter was part of a Pilgrim Sign.

(7.) Fig. 15 is of brass, and apparently a decoration for some wooden object. The two ends for insertion have been turned down or clenched, allowing for an intervening object of about half an inch in thickness. Very frequently the thickness of wood is shown thus, as in the annexed figure, which appears to have been the ring surrounding a wooden tube.



Brass Ring and Nails.



Iron Staple.

(8.) Staples of iron, none of which are shown on the plate, are found like that in the margin. They may be ancient or modern; but in all probability they are not old, as the corrosion is not great.

2.—Fire Arms.—Plate XXIX., Fig. 1.

There are no muskets found on the Cheshire coast, nor any cannon; though we know of course that soldiers who employed these weapons arrived at and departed from the neighbourhood by sea. Even the list of departures, given pp. 28—34, though meant to be merely suggestive, includes musketeers and cannoniers of the close of the sixteenth

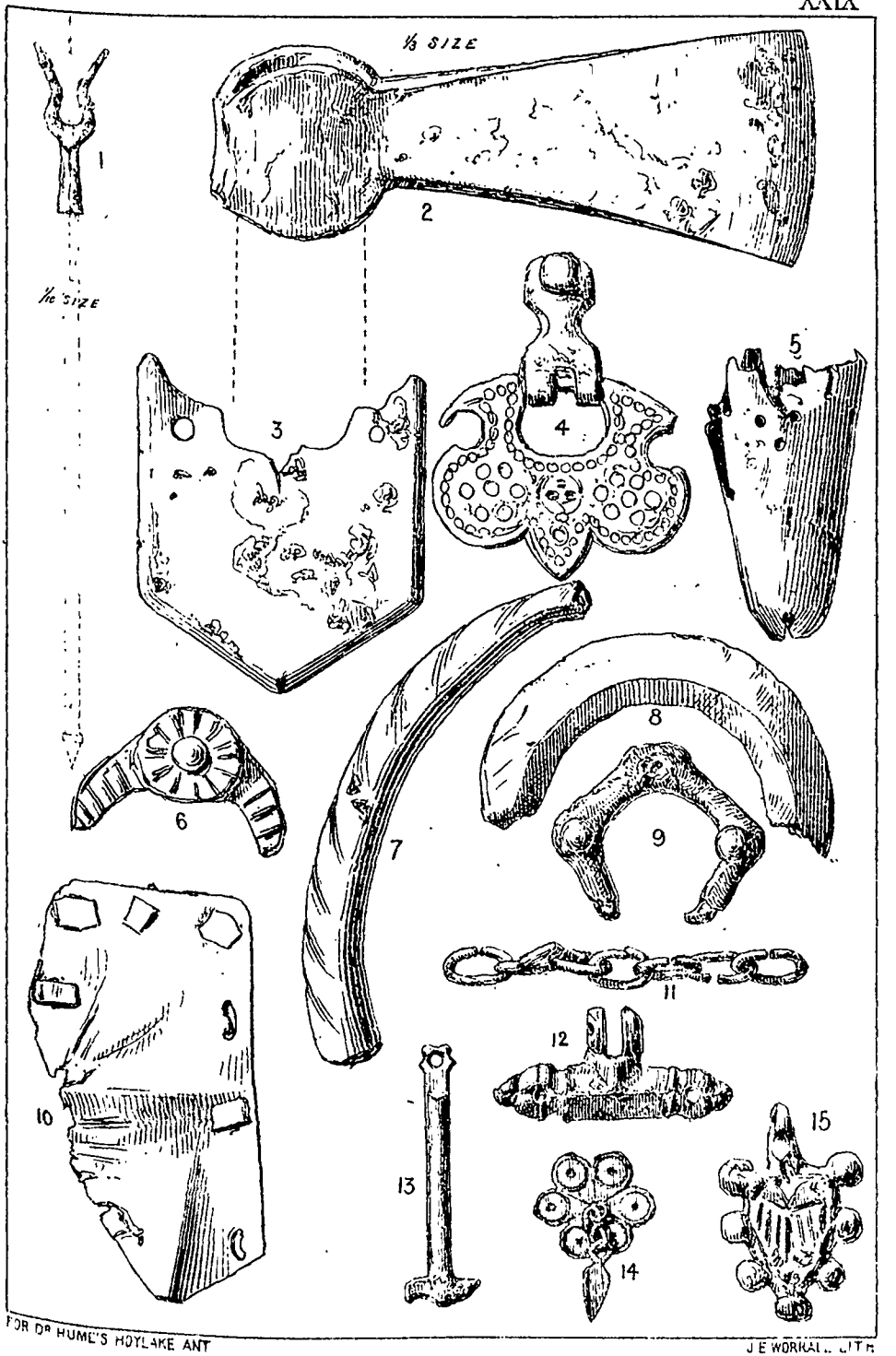
century, and of the whole of the seventeenth. We are aware, too, that the heavy cannon which Duke Schomberg shipped at Hoylake in 1689, was that which permanently injured the Long Bridge of Belfast, then new and unconsolidated. But, though actual cannon and muskets have not been found, we have satisfactory indications that both existed.

(1.) *Musket Rest.*—The object exhibited on Plate XXIX., fig. 1, is that which is well known under the name of a "musket-rest." This was a short stick, somewhat similar to that which supports the shaft of a cart in modern times, but longer. It had an iron socket or ferrule which partially fastened it in the ground, and an iron fork at the top, between the points of which the heavy musket was laid during the process of firing. It may be remarked that portable fire-arms or hand-cannons date from about 1430; and that in some cases they were so cumbrous that the gunner was obliged to rest his gun, and level it on his own shoulder, firing of course without aim. The matchlock remained in use till the time of William III., and a "rest" of some kind, but not a formal professional one, was in use by many so late as the time of George III. That the object was in use in this district is clear from evidence of various kinds. Among this may be mentioned that on the window of the Old Hall of Tranmere, built in 1614, and described by Mr. Mayer in 1851; one figure represents a musketeer, performing the operation of blowing in his pan, while the "rest" is attached to his gun-stock, and by means of a hinge lies along it, projecting at the butt.* The other evidence is, that in 1621 they were in use in Lancashire, as mentioned in the *Shuttleworth Accounts*:†—

To John Harmer, armo'rer for fyve muskettes with restes and mouldes, (at xiiij^{s} with the rest and mouldes,) iij^{l}. x^{s}.

On one of the roundells or fruit-trenchers of the time of James I., the soldier is represented with sword, buff, and

* Transactions Hist. Soc., III., 109. | † Shuttleworth Acc., 249.



MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS_METAL_B.

bandoliers, musket, match, and rest. He carries the rest perpendicularly in his left hand, and the musket over his shoulder. Round the rim of the trencher are eight lines of verse, descriptive of the soldier's profession and character.*

In a list of the charges made by the armourers, gun-makers, pike-makers, and bandolier-makers, June, 1649, there is enumerated the following :†—

For a musket rest, x^{d}.

The "English-Irish soldier" is represented in an old ballad of 1642 as carrying plunder of various kinds; he has nine bottles slung round him after the manner of the buff and bandoliers; and in his right hand he carries an agricultural hay-fork with the points upwards. To these there is the following allusion :—

This Forke my Reste is ;
and my Bandoliers
Canary Bottles,
that can quell base fears.

(2.) "*Swine's Feather*," *or* "*Prod.*"—It will be observed that our illustration exhibits a projecting spike between the forks of the musket-rest. This was known as the "sweyn's feyther," or swine's feather. It consisted of a spike or "prod," sometimes of such length as to lie along the whole length of the rest, and sometimes short, like a dagger. In the latter case it was inserted in the hollow of the shaft, coming out on touching a spring. It was invented in the seventeenth century to protect the musketeer when loading; and may be regarded as the precursor of the modern bayonet. This latter implement, which takes its name from Bayonne in France, was originally called the "swine's feather" also, and resembled it in so far that it was inserted in the muzzle of the musket. It was thus called the *plug*-bayonet, as distinguished from the *socket*-bayonet of our own time. In the great fire at the Tower of London in 1841, there

* Archæologia, XXXIV., 225. † Meyrick.

were 2025 of these old plug-bayonets destroyed. It is related that, in one of the campaigns of William III. in Flanders, three French regiments were furnished with the socket-bayonet, then unknown in England. Col. Maxwell, who opposed them with the British 25th foot, thought that of course they meant to decide the contest point to point, but was astonished on a nearer approach, when the French poured in a heavy fire, which he had thought an impossibility.*

(3.) *Gunstones.*—Among the objects discovered is also a stone cannon-ball, about three inches in diameter; and, as the use of stone bullets was abandoned in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this object probably belongs to the 15th century, or the early half of the 16th.

On the 6th of February, 1553-54, the following record occurs :—

Towardes night ther was laden x or xij cartes with ordenance, as billes, morice-pikes, speres, bowes, arowes, *gon-stones*, pouder, shovelles, mattokes, spades, baskets, and other munytion, and ther went out ij culverings, one sacre, iij faucons and a fauconett.†

The xij day of July [1553], by nyght, was cared to the Towre iij carts full of all maner of ordenans, as great gune and smalle, bowes, bylls, speres, mores pykes, arnes, arowes, gunpowther, and wetelle, monay, tentes, and all maner of ordenans, *gunstones* a gret nombur, and a gret nombur of men of armes.‡

There is an allusion to them by Sir David Lindsay, in his *Complaint of John the Commoun Weill.*

> All hir greit cannounis scho lat crak at anis,
> Doun schuke the streamaris from the top castell ;§
> They sparit not the poulder nor the *stanis*.

In 1843, about thirty-two specimens of stone shot were found at the Tower of London, during the process of levelling

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* Archæologia, XXXVIII. 423.

† Queen Jane and Queen Mary —47.

‡ Machyn's Diary, p. 36.

§ This was part of a ship of war, which is represented as discharging stones.

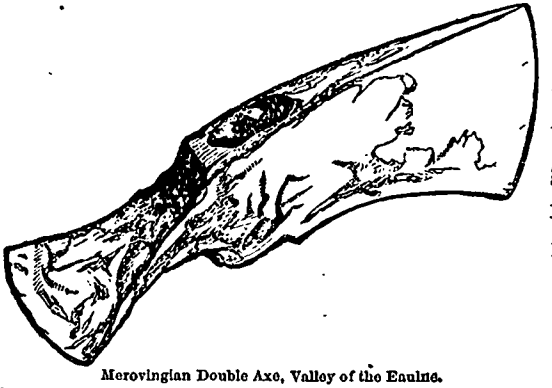
the moat for sanitary purposes. They varied in diameter from ten inches to four and a half. In a paper descriptive of them, by Robert Porret, Esq., of the Tower,* he quotes a list of shot, given in 1575, from which it appears that they were occasionally polished.

Stone shotte polished, vizt for canon pirriers, 8.

On comparing this number with the number of shot in all, it appears that about one-tenth were of stone.

3.—AXES.—FIG. 2.

THE Assyrian axes shown in *Layard's Illustrations* appear to be of solid metal, and to have broad edges and heads behind. One (Plate lxxvi.) appears to be a double axe. Among the Romans, including those who inhabited this country, the bi-pennis or double axe was in use; and in the Merovingian graves, at the cemetery of Envermeu,† several double axes were found. Each was eight and a half inches long, and of iron; but, like an agricultural hoe, had its edges at right angles to each other. In an Anglo-Norman vocabulary of the eleventh century, the term bi-pennis is explained by "stan-ex,"‡ so that it is not unlikely that many of the stone axes were of that form, which is still shown in some of the specimens that remain.



Merovingian Double Axe, Valley of the Eaulne.

In a manuscript of the Douce collection in the Bodleian Library, is a picture of an Irish kerne driving off cattle, the iron axe which he holds in his hand being nearly an equilateral triangle. In *Munster's Cosmographia Universalis*,§ the

* Archæol., XXX., 323.
† Archæologia, XXXV., 229.
‡ Mayer's Vocabularies, p. 34.
§ Page 28.

German miners are represented as possessed of an axe which is all blade and no head, like the one figured here, (Plate XXIX., fig. 2.) A similar one is shown in *La Normandie Souterraine*,* but it is curved in the blade, and broader at the cutting edge. The axe held in the hand of Dermot MacMurrough, formerly King of Leinster, is of this shape. The block is one of those kindly lent me by the Royal Irish Academy, from their Catalogue, (p. 310;) and the original is found in an illuminated copy of Giraldus, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart. In the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral, three schoolboys are represented as raising columns by a windlass; and an axe lies on the floor precisely of the form given here.† In this example, fig. 2, the flakes of oak wood adhere to the inner side of the socket; and, when found, it had a dark handle about eighteen inches long, which crumbled away.

Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, with Axe.

In the year 963, it was enacted that every man possessing six marks must provide himself with a shield and spear, also with a sword or axe; and John de Garlande mentions several kinds of them by which the beams of a house are shaped. These are in English the "hachet, brode axe, twybyl,"‡ &c. One is shown in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, with a sort of pickaxe at the back.§

In 1502, an axe cost tenpence, as appears by the privy purse expenses of Elizabeth of York; and the *Shuttleworth Accounts* show us that, from 1586 to 1620, an axe usually

* Page 22.

† Winchester Vol. of Arch. Assoc., Pl. xiv., div. 8.

‡ Mayer's Vocab., 137.

§ Vol. XII., Pl. v.

cost a shilling or fifteen-pence.* Not only axes, but other warlike implements, are found much more frequently in Frankish graves than in those of the Anglo-Saxons; † so that in ancient as in modern times, our Gallic neighbours would seem to have preferred the sword and the spear, while our own ancestors chose the ploughshare and pruning-hook. The axe figured here has no doubt been used for the purposes of peaceful industry; and it is interesting to find it in close proximity to the stumps and trunks of forest-trees.

In 1853, a paper by W. M. Wylie, Esq., was read at the Society of Antiquaries, in which he mentions ‡ some axes found near Envermeu, in France, as possessing the form of the original double axe. In the full length of its two blades, each is eight and a half inches. It is shaped like an agricultural hoe. One is given at the top of this article, and this one as a tail-piece.

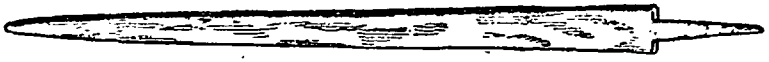
Merovingian Double Axe, Valley of the Eaulne.

4.—Swords and Daggers.—Figs. 3, 5.

The sword was at one time the most important implement of offence and defence; but, since the invention of gunpowder, it has gradually declined in practical importance. It now, in a great degree, occupies the place of a truncheon of office, and affords a subject for poetic similitudes. Swords and daggers are here taken together, because in many cases they differ only in size, and when the dagger was double-edged, like a sword, it is difficult or impossible to distinguish them.

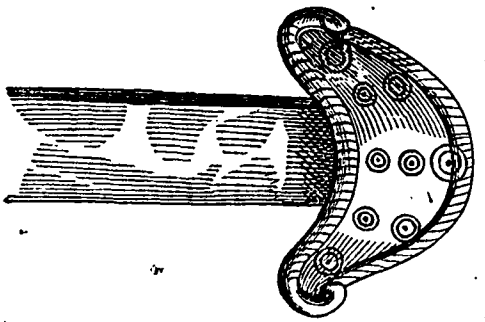
* Page 419.
† Proceedings S. A., II., 169.
‡ Archæologia, XXXV., 229.

An ordinary form of the ancient sword may be given here in the annexed woodcut.



Ordinary Sword.

One of the first points to remark is the rarity of swords. Among thousands of objects in a district passed over by tens of thousands of soldiers, not one has been found, and the only relics of the kind which we can produce, are two pieces of mounting which belonged to a sword and dagger respectively. This and other facts serve to show us that they belonged to a people of peaceful occupations, and who cultivated the arts of life more than the practices of war. It is said that swords were restricted to the rich in the early and mediæval periods,* and this fact would also serve to show that the persons who owned the majority of these various relics, were what Gray calls "the rude forefathers of the hamlet." Both swords and daggers existed among the ancient Assyrians, and sometimes they were very ornamental. The oldest examples, both here and in other lands, were of bronze; iron is comparatively modern. The Roman sword was short and strong; that of the ancient Gauls was long and badly tempered, so that it was sometimes necessary to straighten it with the foot, like a piece of hoop-iron. Among the American Indians, the sword never was common, and even at present, with all their instruction by Europeans, it is hardly known.

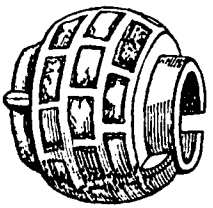


Sword-hilt with Pommel.

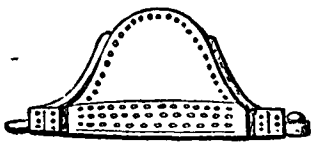
On Saxon sword-hilts pommels were very rare; but they do occur occasionally. One was found in Kent in 1772,† of which the annexed cut is a

* Archæol., XXXVIII., 91. † Inv. Sep., 132.

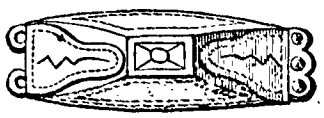
representation. The strig or part grasped by the hand is five inches and three quarters long, the breadth of the shoulder next the blade three quarters of an inch, and the blade itself only thirteen inches and a quarter long, and its breadth at the handle one inch and three-eighths. This is what we would call a large knife; but examples of this kind are common in modern times also. In the *Spirit of the East*, Mr. Urquhart informs us that the modern Greek divides a lamb at table with his dagger, precisely as the Homeric heroes did nearly 3000 years ago. Another pommel, of silver, is shown here from Kingston Down, Kent. It was set with rectangular pieces of a calcareous paste; it is given of the full size. In another instance, a pommel of iron was discovered, but, though of such rude materials, it is a very graceful and elegant object. The adjoining cuts represent its side and top.



Silver Pommel.



Iron Pommel—Side View.



Iron Pommel—Seen Vertically.

One of these knife-like or dagger-like swords, eight inches long, is here represented, and it was only a type of a very numerous class, as the same form is frequently referred to by Faussett.*

Knife-like Sword—8 inches long.

Another of the same kind, but wanting the knob or pommel at the end of the strig, was ten inches long. Its figure also is subjoined—

* Inv. Sep., pp. 7, 11, 29, &c.

Knife-like Sword—Saxon.

The materials of which the sheaths were made were very various; in the first instance they were no doubt frequently of wood, like the knife-sheaths alluded to p. 180. In some instances these were covered with leather or skin, and afterwards leather alone was employed. In not a few instances we know that even cloth was used for scabbards. At both top and bottom a piece of metal was necessary—in the former case to give firmness to the opening of the scabbard, and to maintain it in suitable form; in the latter case it was known as the "chape," and served in a great degree the same purposes as the tag or pendant on a strap. The pendant prevented the strap from being curled, or distorted, or worn away, and rendered it more manageable in the process of buckling and unbuckling; so the chape prevented the leather from being worn or pierced through. In almost any pictorial representation of sword and scabbard, the chape may be seen. Sometimes, however, it is unusually obvious, as in the four paintings on the windows of Tewkesbury Abbey,* and occasionally it is of a peculiar shape, as on the brass of Norwich of Brampton.† An interesting example is shown from the Fairford graves; and, in the *Archæologia*,‡ the chape of an Anglo-Saxon sword from Brighthampton, Oxford, is engraved. There are yellow ornaments like dogs looking backward, with cross lines at intervals near the top, like musical bars; and a triangle at bottom, like the heraldic pile. Worsaæ figures some of a peculiar shape. The leather scabbard of a bronze sword has its chape like a button, with spiral coils of wire for a few inches round the point of the scabbard.§ In another

* Carter, vol. ii.

† Hudson's Monumental Brasses of Northamptonshire.

‡ Vol. XXXVIII., p. 96.

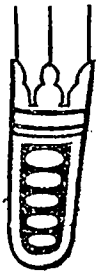
§ Afbildninger, p. 26.

example, part of a very ornamental scabbard remains attached to an iron sword, the chape of which is like a Jew's harp inverted, the sword dropping between the forked bars. Chaucer alludes to the chapes in his introduction to the *Canterbury Tales*—

> Hir knives were ychaped not with bras,
> But all with silver, wrought ful clene and wel,
> Hir girdeles and hir pouches everydel.

The ordinary form of an English sword-chape may be seen in the three specimens which follow. In the first, the point

Rich. Rolleston, Ashover, 1507.



Sir John Curzon, Kedleston Church.

Richard Kniveton, Muggington Church, 14[illegible].

is angular, and the form plain. In the second it is round, and the whole is decorated with pierced work, and shows an ornamental floreated top. In the third, there is an ornamental knob at the extremity, and the sacred monogram **I H C** engraved on the chape. These are all from churches in Derbyshire. They present us with uniformity amid variety, such as we should suppose one locality likely to furnish.

In the Royal Irish Academy there are several of these chapes, or ferrules, belonging to the bronze leaf-shaped swords. One is a small hollow capsule, almost of the shape of the Roman bronze purse in the Shrewsbury Museum. In the example shewn here, the points expand into a boat-like form; while in all of them the rivet holes are shewn by which it was attached to the wooden sheath. In a third example, about half an inch deep, the narrow points stand out more

Sword Chape, from Ireland.

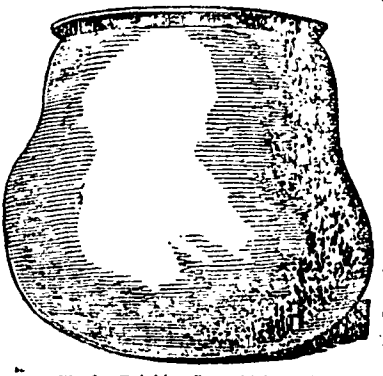
than an inch at each side; and in the Assyrian swords, shown in *Layard's Illustrations*, the lions' heads on the chape project from the scabbard as far as the lions' heads which form the cross at the hilt.

5.—Collars.—Fig. 7.

The collar was, no doubt, in use among the Celtic Britons, and it was extensively used by the people, especially of Ireland. Large numbers of collars, not only of bronze but of silver and gold, have also been found in various parts of England and Scotland. Sometimes they were open at the ends, but a little expanded, like an African wrist bangle; and, again, they were grooved, wreathed, twisted, and ornamented in various ways. The object which is represented by fig. 7 may have been part of such a collar as has been suggested;* but, not unlikely, it is a fragment of a much more modern implement.

6.—Mending.—Fig. 10.

It is evident that the more rare and valuable articles are, the more anxious will their owners be to preserve them perfect, or to restore them; so that it is not surprising that mended articles should be found occasionally, or even frequently, among the objects of archæological examination. At Uriconium are specimens of Roman pottery which have been repaired, and patching of bronze vessels is not unfrequent. One is engraved in the Archæologia.† There was also a mended pail found at Cuddesdon, in Oxfordshire;‡ and a smaller bronze dish found at Long Wittenham, Berks,§ of date probably anterior to the Saxon arrival, was



Wooden Drinking-Cup, with brass lip.

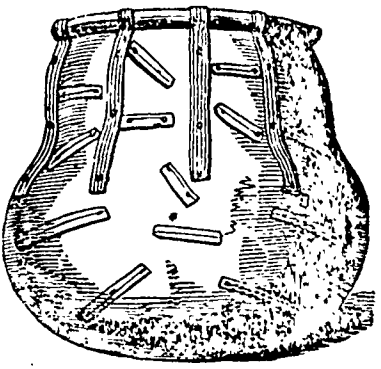
* A. W. F.

† Vol. XXX., p. 132.

‡ Akerman's Pagan Saxondom.

§ Arch., XXXVIII., 333.

rudely mended. At Harnham Hill, near Salisbury, an Anglo-Saxon wooden dish, covered with bronze, was found mended; and at Sibertswold Down, in 1772, was discovered a curiously mended vessel. It was a small wooden bowl or drinking-cup, of about two inches and a half diameter at the rim or lip. It had not only a brass edging round the mouth, but had several little narrow bands of brass, which held this edging in its place, and reached about an inch and a quarter down the sides outside and in. Each had three small rivets passing through the sides of the vessel. There were also upwards of twenty other little pieces of brass, each about five-eighths of an inch long, riveted into the sides. As these lay in almost every position and direction, it is reasonable to infer that their purpose was to mend certain cracks or deficiencies in the vessel. It is shown in the margin, and the figure at the head of the article will serve to give an idea of the original. John de Garlande tells us that the menders of cups call out that they can repair them with a brazen and silver thread. Such cups were made of maple, plane-tree, box, asp, &c.* In the *Shuttleworth Accounts* we read, under date December, 1583,—



Wooden Drinking-Cup, repaired.

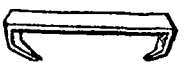
Nayles and lether for amendinge of the armore, v^d.

In the Royal Irish Academy there is a large circular brass vessel, hammered out of a single piece, which has been rudely patched on one side.† In the grave of a man at Kingston Down were found six little brass clasps, with wood adhering

* Reparatores ciphorum exclamant ciphos reparandos cum filo ereo et argenteo. Ciphos autem reparant, de murinis ("masers"), et planis, et brucis ("warrys" or box), de acere ("mapyl") et tremulo ("haspe.")—*Mayer's Vocabulary*, 126.

† Wilde's Catalogue, 541.

to their points. One of them is shown here, and its form is so like that of the clasps which a travelling tinker employs to mend the wooden bowl of a farmer or cottager, that we may reasonably suppose it to be an object for the same purpose. In Kent was found a small comb, that had been mended with a slip of brass.* Fig. 10, Plate XXIX., is obviously a thin copper patch which had been applied to some large vessel.

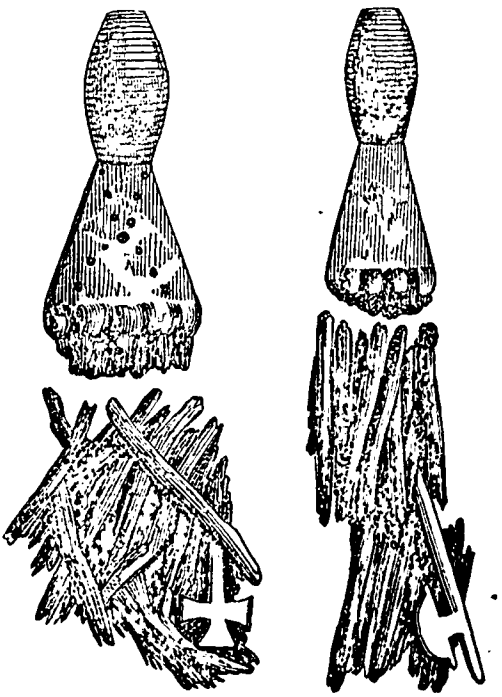


Clasp for Wooden Vessel.

a woman's grave in piece of an ivory

7.—Chatellaines.—Figs. 11, 12, 13, 14.

In the ancient graves of France, Germany, and England, it has often happened that small objects, in imitation of useful ones, are found—analogous to the "baby celts" of Ireland, the doll-like scissors of Germany, and others equally minute. Along with these are found objects naturally small, like pins, needles, ear-picks, &c.; and, from having lain long in the earth, they are usually found rusted and fused into one inseparable mass. Dr. Mortimer found several of these at Chartham Down, in Kent; and the representations of two of his bunches are given here. He says, "There is one piece exactly like the others, except



Chatellaines, or Pendants.

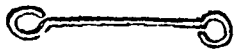
* Invent. Sep., p. 62.

that, instead of ending in a point, it ends in a cross; and such another was found in a lump of several of them, cemented together by the rust of some adjacent iron."

To this the Rev. Bryan Faussett appends the remark, "I have found many such; and, from frequent and careful observation, I have, long since, plainly discovered that they used to be hung in clusters, as it were, to the ends of small iron chains, which were fixed to the women's waists, pretty much in the same manner as scissors, &c., are now-a-days worn. They seem to have served for many different uses, such as ear-pickers, tooth-pickers, bodkins, nail-parers, &c. These are never found in men's graves."

Objects of this kind are found only in the graves of women; and these remains occur usually about the knees, with traces of corroded chain from the waist to that point. It is clear therefore, that they depended like the *chatellaines* of our own days, or like bunches of small keys. They are described in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. II.; they are frequently alluded to in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale;* and, on Plate X. in that volume, a very beautiful one is figured complete, and fragments of six or seven others. An object used for a similar purpose, but very different in shape from the English forms, is figured by the Abbé Cochet.* Several of the small objects, too, engraved by M. Troyon, have evidently been pendants of an ornamental character from the girdle.†

It is believed that all the four objects, figs. 11, 12, 13, and 14, have been connected with *chatellaines*. The forms of chain were very different, just as in our own day; and in some instances, no doubt, mere cords were employed. Annexed is a link of a chain from a Saxon grave. Fig. 12, like the beam belonging to a small pair of scales, is precisely the sort of object at which such things were suspended, a group at



Link of a Chain.

* La Normandie Souterraine, Pl. xvii., p. 417.

† Habitationes Lacustres, Pl. xi., figs. 14, 15, 16.

either end. An object like fig. 13 was at first supposed to be the tongue of a small bell, and is alluded to in p. 264; but, from its exact resemblance to small hammers found by Faussett, it was much more probably pendent from the girdle. Fig. 14 is evidently an ornamental tassel of metal of some kind, and it probably served this purpose. I have seen some pretty imitations of these in iron-work of our own day.

(9.) Plate XXIX., fig. 4, has been alluded to in p. 169; under the head of Spurs.

(10.) Fig. 6 has been alluded to in p. 151; under the head of Bosses and Studs.

(11.) Fig. 8 has been a large ring, flat on the under side, and bevelled on the upper; the bevel, or *chamfer*, sloping more gradually to the outer circumference than to the inner.

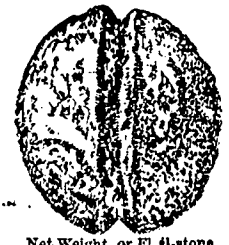
(12.) The object of fig. 9 is unknown. It is not unlike the bottom of the iron frame in which a tall bottle of Eau de Cologne is placed.

(13.) Fig. 15 probably represents a portion of horse furniture,* in which there has been great display.

XXXIII.—STONE IMPLEMENTS.—Plate XXX.

1.—Small Stone Objects.

Among the stone objects found on the seashore was one, fig. 1, slightly orange-shaped, or an oblate spheroid. A hole penetrated through it in the line of its axis; but the two outer sides of the hole were very much funnel-shaped. Stones of this kind are frequently found in Ireland, but of a hard material, whereas this appeared to be only of sandstone. In some, the actual hole in the middle is not half the width of it at the outer sides, so that it appears to have been pierced by a conical boring instrument. Several

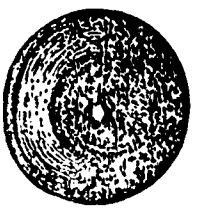


Net Weight, or Fl ti-stone, one-fourth scale.

* A. W. F.

examples of stones of this kind are given in Wilde's Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy, pages 94 and 95. In some instances the hole did not pass quite through; and it has been suggested, with a deal of probability, that such stones formed the pivot to the two axes between the upper and lower quern stones. What gives plausibility to the idea is, that frequently the two holes on opposite sides of one of these stones are eccentric to each other, or not in the same direct line.

Perforated stones were used for other purposes. They served for suspension about the person, like the lucky-stone of a modern Lancashire farmer; and sometimes they were used as plummets or weights, as they still are at the loom of a rustic weaver. Figs. 2, 3, and 5, may have been of this kind. The American Indians use them for net-sinkers, knife-handles, whet-stones, &c.* The Rev. Cotton Mather says that the Indians, in the time of the early settlers, employed them for tools.† They also served the purpose of sling stones, or stones for projection by some other means. In Worsaæ's *Afbildninger*, page 9, two of these stones are engraved; and on page 10 there are three celts or chisels of stone, each with a perforation at top. In Layard's *Illustrations of Nineveh*, parties in a besieged castle are represented as hurling stones by the hand. These are egg-shaped rather than globular; but the stones which are pictured as projected from English staff slings and cord slings are globular. Robert of Gloucester, writing of the period of William Rufus,‡ says:—



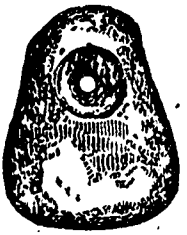
Net Sinker

> Hyt thoghte that al the eyr above vol was of cry anon,
> And that we ne myghte noght yse bote harewen and flone,
> And stones out of lutheren,§ and of magnales also.

There is a Greek sling stone or bullet figured in the *Archæo-*

* Schoolcraft IV., 175, 490.
† Ibid., I., 284.
‡ Hearne II., p. 394.
§ Slings of leather.

*logica.** It is egg-shaped, with the smaller end coming to a point, and letters stand out upon it in relief. It is difficult to assign uses to the three which are here represented in woodcuts; but if the first were not a flail-stone,† used in Irish warfare, they were probably all plummets or sinkers. The originals are in the Royal Irish Academy's collection. Fig. 4 is a small peak of jet; and fig. 6 is stone, but its object is unknown.



Plummet-stone.

In Mr. Ainslie's collection is an implement of hard grey stone, about three inches long, which he called a "celt," but which is very unlike the ordinary implements called by that name. A similar implement is engraved by Schoolcraft (II., Pl. I.) of which he says, "we may conjecture that its use was sempstressoal, and that it was designed for smoothing down seams of buckskin."‡

Smoothing Stone.

The object, Plate XXX., fig. 3, bears considerable resemblance to a perforated celt in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy;§ but both are different from the almond-shaped implements which are called by that name, and are well known. There were various modes of mounting these for actual use, and two examples of the modes of fixing the common stone celt in its handle have come to light. One was discovered near Cookstown, in the county of Tyrone, Ireland;‖ and the other in the Solway Moss, in the south-west of Scotland.** The latter is shown here.

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* XXXII., p. 96.

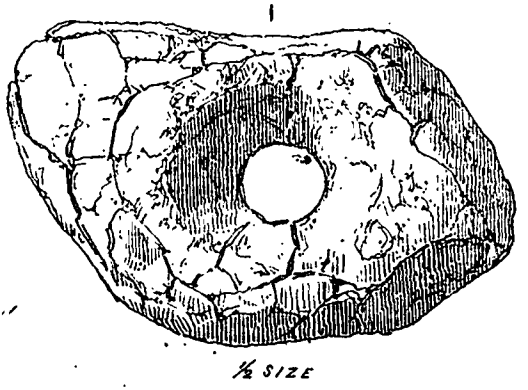
† There is one preserved in the State collection at Albany, New York, and called a "war club." This is supposed to be correct.

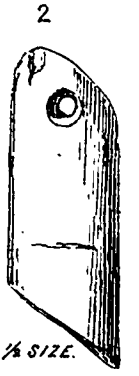
‡ Schoolcraft, II., 90.

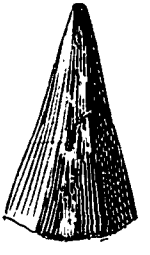
§ Wilde's Catalogue, p. 44.

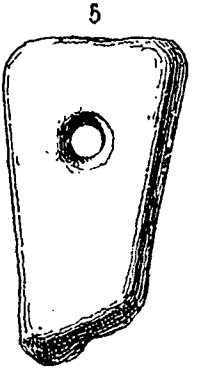
‖ Archæological Journal, IV., 3; Worsaæ's Primev. Antiq., p. 12.

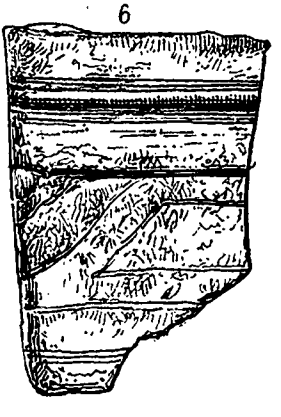
** Proceedings of the Soc. Antiq., IV., 112.

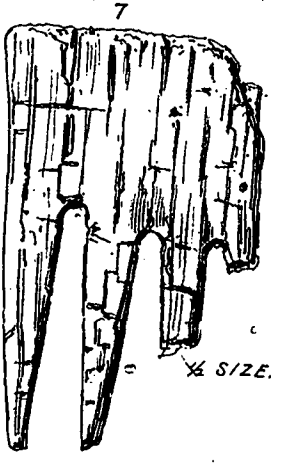








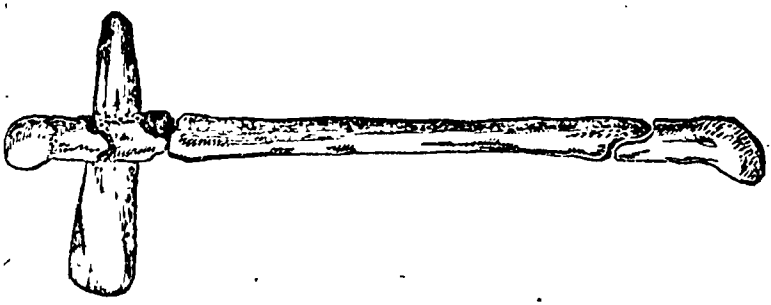




FOR DR HUME'S HOYLAKE ANT.

J.E.WORRALL, LITH.

CURIOUS IMPLEMENTS,—STONE & WOOD.



Celt, with handle, from Solway Moss.

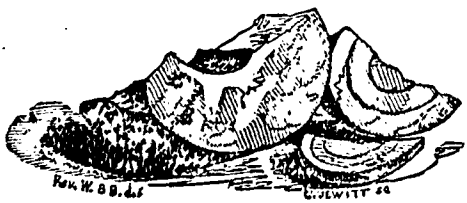
No handle, or wooden mounting of any celt, has been found in Denmark.

2.—QUERNS.

Among the miscellaneous objects discovered near the site of ancient Meols is a circular stone, with a perforation at the top; supposed to have formed part of an ancient quern. The upper and lower stones were known to the ancients respectively as the rider and ass; and this is part of the upper one, or rider; that is to say, the one which was made to revolve.

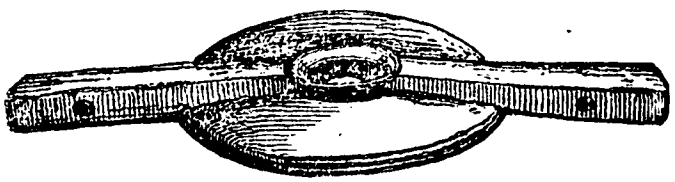
In these days, when steam has almost superseded the ancient picturesque wind-mills and water-mills, we find some difficulty in looking back to a period anterior to either of these latter, when grain was made into meal and flour by the hand, and the whole mill apparatus could be lifted and placed on a table. Hand-mills of this kind have been used at various times from east to west of the whole old continent; and they are still in use in the eastern countries, affording a permanent illustration of numerous scriptural and classic allusions. In the mountainous districts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, they may yet be seen occasionally in use, though in general a perfect quern is rare. Only one stone commonly exists, the other having been broken by the influence of the modern miller, in order literally "to draw grist to his mill." The township of Quernmore, near Lancaster, is supposed to have been so named from the manufacture of querns, or hand-mill

stones, at its quarries; and there were no doubt others at many parts of our north-western district. A large and beautiful Saxon quern was uncovered at Pimbo Lane, near Wigan, in the construction of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway; and others, British, Roman, and mediæval, are not uncommon. In the Roman villa at Walesby, near Market Rasen, several portions of quern stones were discovered, the general character of which may be seen in the accompanying cut. These are, no doubt, of much the same kind as those which were turned by the maid-servants of ancient Egypt,* or by Samson when a captive of the Philistines.†



Roman Quern-stones, Walesby.

In the larger querns, as in the mill stones of modern times, a piece of iron is inserted with claws at the extremities, and a square hole for the axis in the centre. This is called the mill-rind, from which the *cross moline* is derived, constituting the canting arms of Molyneux. Sometimes a wooden lid or cover was attached to the upper stone, and, by means of projecting bars, a greater leverage was obtained in turning either by cords or otherwise. There is one of these



Mill Timber.

mill-timbers in the Royal Irish Academy, a representation of which is given here.

Simple as the quern is, it is a great advancement upon the

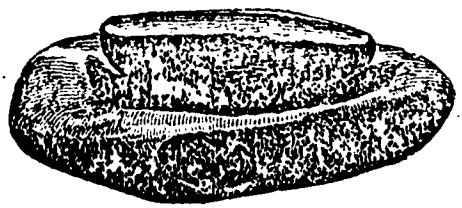
* Exodus xi. 5. From the first-born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the first-born of the maid-servant that is behind the mill.

† Judges xvi. 21. Samson did grind in his prison-house.

In the *Monkes Tale*, this is expressed by Chaucer as follows—

Whereas they made him at the *querne* grind,
Of nobil Sampson, strongest of mankind.

processes in use in savage lands. Thus the native of the interior of Australia pounds the nardoo seeds between two stones, and the Digger Indians of the Rocky Mountains, as well as others of a low grade in the region of California, procure a specimen of vegetable food in nearly the same way. With great toil and patience they gather the grass-seeds in their neighbourhood, and then pound them between two stones. The natives of New Mexico use the triturating stone or grain rubber, which is also known on the west coast of Africa. It was in use in Ireland and Scotland at an early period, and no doubt in England also. One in my own possession, like that shown on the annexed cut, is somewhat hollow in the centre, and of a very rough grit. The grain was rubbed upon it by a roundish stone, somewhat after the manner of a painter grinding his paints. The specimen shown in the woodcut has a hole in the side, to permit the egress of the meal; but this must be regarded as a marked advance upon the ordinary triturating stone. In a paper which I read in 1848,* numerous quotations were given from our old English literature, in which the quern is alluded to by name; but it may be sufficient here to give Wicliff's version of a well-known passage of scripture :—



Triturating Stones.

Tweine wymmen schulen ben gryndynge in o querne, oon schal be taken and the tother lefte.†

Mr. Beamont remarks, in connexion with the *Domesday Survey* for Lancashire and Cheshire :—

"The miller, before querns were obsolete, represented one step in the progress of society. Only one miller is mentioned in this district, though there were already several mills, and the number was increasing."

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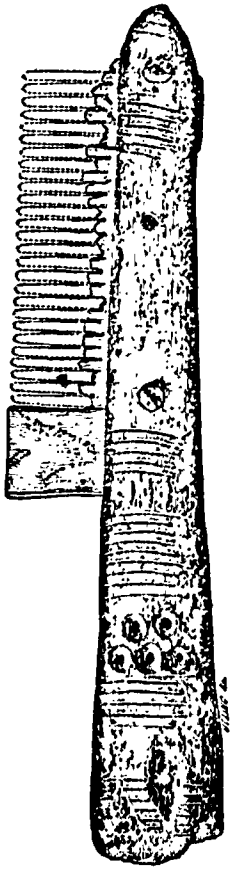
* Transactions of the Historic Society of Lanc. and Chesh., I. 33.

† Matt. viii. 32.

XXXIV.—COMBS.—Plate XXX.

1. *Introduction.*—Among the earliest combs with which we are acquainted are those of Egypt; and those of Roman manufacture, which are discovered from time to time in this country. Two bone ones were found at Uriconium, and, from the size of the teeth, it would appear that they were employed in a manner similar to our own. One of them is highly ornamented; and the slip of bone in which the teeth are cut, appears to be inserted between two others, which form the back, and give it strength. A Greek triangular comb, carved in bone, was found at Pompeii; and a Roman comb, found near Coblentz, has Venus and the graces carved on opposite sides.* Other ancient combs are occasionally found in barrows, British and Saxon. Some are of a single piece, the teeth being on both sides. Occasionally they are on one side only; a thick and strong material being fastened on with rivets, for the purpose of strengthening the back. One of bone, 6½ inches long, of somewhat unusual form, was found in the Thames, near Runnymede.† It is shown here.



Bone Comb, from the Thames.

2. *Uses.*—As none of these were suited for wearing in the hair, their obvious purpose was to trim and dress it; and as in women "the hair was given for a covering," the comb was particularly useful. It would appear that in the days of our ancestors, maidens wore the hair long, while matrons had it tucked up. Thus, in the old ballad of *Fair Annie*—

* Proceedings S. A., III., 54. | † Ibid, IV., 188.

She has to her coffer gane,
Ta'en out her silver kame;
And she has kamed down her yellow hair,
As she a maid had been.

The rule, though general, was not without exceptions; for Dunbar says in his poem, "*The twa Maryit Wemen and the Wedo*,"—

Kemmit was thair cleir hair, and curiouslie sched
Attour thair schoulderis down.

We may also see from Chaucer that the use of the comb was not confined to women, and the same facts are noticed in other portions of our literature—

He waketh all the night and all the day,
He kembeth his lockes brode, and made him gay.
Milleres Tale.

She kissed his cheek, she kaimed his hair,
As oft she had done before, O;
She beltit him with his noble brand,
And he's awa' to Yarrow.
O. B., Dowie Dens o' Yarrow.

From numerous allusions, it is clear that the comb was an important instrument;* and it would appear that gentlemen used it even in public, to dress their large flowing wigs.† In the Special Exhibition of Works of Art at South Kensington, there was a coarse Turkish comb used for regulating the beard; and no doubt a similar instrument will soon be required among ourselves. The practice of retaining the hair in its place by means of combs, appears to have been in use among the ladies of Scotland in the close of the thirteenth century; for it is mentioned in the old ballad of *Sir Patrick Spens*, which refers to that period—

And lang, lang may the maidens sit,
Wi' their gowd kames in their hair,
A' waiting for their ain dear loves,
For them they'll see nae mair.

---

* See quotations from the old plays, *Lingua* and *The Four PP.*, pp. 81, 231.

† Fairholt's Costume, 583.

Probably these were small combs, if they were, as the poet describes, actually of gold. One may contrast with this a local fashion of the present age. About thirty years ago, combs were worn at Buenos Ayres three feet wide; not only covering the whole back of the head, but forming a large semicircle with wings. They were jocularly known as "chair-back" combs; and, though made only of tortoise-shell pieced, frequently cost £20. At length government interfered, and their use was discontinued.

There is a very curious object in my own possession. A slip of tortoise-shell, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, is bent forward at its two extremities. To the one a pin is attached by a metal hinge, and at the other is an arrangement for fastening the point of the pin; so that the object is a perfect fibula. But the curious fact is, that the pin is also of tortoise-shell, about one-eighth of an inch in breadth, and that its inner side is pectinated, forming a delicate little comb. It was used about 1780 to retain the curls of ladies in their places; it was more useful than curl-papers, and less unseemly.

Curry-combs and mane-combs were in use for horses at various dates. From the *Shuttleworth Accounts* we learn their value in 1616 :—

A single currye combe - - - -	vj^{d}
A duble „ - - - -	xviij^{d}
A maine combe and a sponge -	vj^{d}
Another, without a sponge - -	iiij^{d}

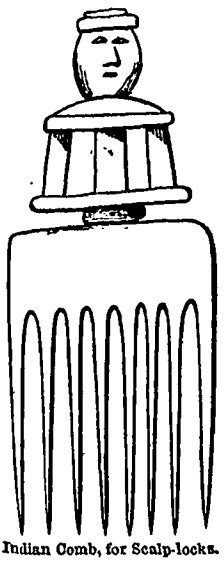
The wool-comb was a well-known implement of female* industry; and Lucretia is represented as using it when suddenly waited upon by her husband and his friends.† The

* The use of the mediæval English term Kemb-ster, which is still preserved in Scotland, shows that combing was a female employment; for *ster* is a feminine termination, as in web-*ster*, malt-*ster*, back-*ster*, huck-*ster*, spin-*ster*.

† Then up the street Virginia turned, and as she danced along,
She warbled gaily to herself, lines of the good old song;
How for a sport the princes came, spurring from the camp,
And found Lucrece, combing the fleece, under the midnight lamp.
MACAULAY.—*Lays of Anc. Rome.*

existence of a comb on monumental slabs is said to indicate that a wool-comber sleeps below;* but at Iona, the mirror and comb on the slab of the Princess Anna, the last prioress 1511, is merely an indication of sex, after the manner of Greek and Roman art.† The arms of Tunstall, of Yorkshire, consist of three combs, as it is said that one of their ancestors was barber to William the Conqueror.‡ Some peculiar uses of the comb are mentioned. Thus, it is noticed in the old ballad of *Lambert Linkin* as a toy to please a child;§ and at a pin manufactory, the girls who insert the pins in paper reduce the full of an apron or basket to order, by lifting them with a comb.‖

3. *Material.* Combs of wood were common, but many of them have perished. Ladies' combs were frequently made of boxwood, and were cheaper than those of ivory, or other costly material. In 1621 "a box combe" cost 18s., while a few days afterwards "a veale and a mutton" together cost only 16s.** The combs used by the American Indians are generally of wood; and sometimes the forms are pleasing. They are used not only in dressing the hair of the living, but in reducing to order the scalp-locks of slain warriors, while the scalps are undergoing the preparatory processes, to fit them for decorating the person of the slayer.††



Indian Comb, for Scalp-locks.

Combs of bone and ivory, though rarer when manufactured, are more frequently found at present.

* Cutts's Manual, p. 42.

† Blackie's Guide, p. 65.

‡ Glossary of Heraldry.

§ O still my babe, nourice,
Still him wi' the kame;
He'll no be still, lady,
Till his daddy come hame.
Motherwell, p. 224.

‖ Tomlinson's Account of the Manufacture of a Pin.

** Shuttleworth Accounts, pp. 250, 251.

†† Schoolcraft, III., 468, Pl. xxxv.

One was discovered at Barrow Furlong, in Northamptonshire, among Saxon remains; and is engraved in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIII., Plate xiii. It is of bone, and has two rows of teeth, with a strong band down the centre. This and the ends are ornamented by small circles; and the whole is fastened by iron rivets. The Abbé Cochet mentions combs both of bone and bronze; and he has no doubt that in certain cases they were borne in a purse or gypcière. They have been found at several places, usually, but not always, with teeth on both sides, and with strengthening bars down the centre, attached by iron pins. In some cases, as at Selzen, near Mayence, the comb has been found in a vessel at the feet of the warrior.* One has been found by the skeleton of a woman near the bones of the thigh, and another near the buckle of the girdle; both of which were probably suspended from the waist. A bronze comb was found in an urn at East Kilbride, in Scotland;† and in one of the ancient habitations of Orkney there was a very curious one of bone, which bears a rude resemblance to a hand with nine equal fingers.‡ A similar object was found on the Cheshire shore several years ago, but appears not to have been preserved. It was supposed to be a toy.

The comb, especially when the material was bone, was often made in fragments, from half an inch to an inch long; and these were inserted side by side between two plates.§ A few broken teeth could therefore be supplied by merely replacing the portion to which they belonged; and the whole was not destroyed. The injury was local, like the breaking in of one water-tight compartment of a ship. The accompanying engraving is from a bone rack-comb, in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, restored and completed from a fragment.

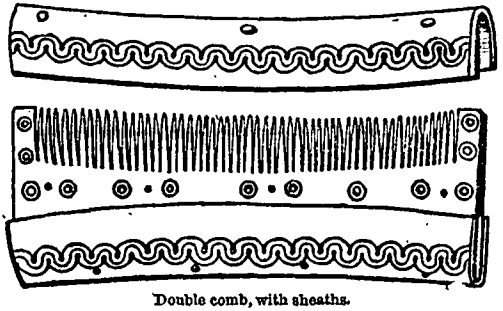
It will be observed that the pectinated portion rises above the hog-back sides at the centre and ends; and, also, that it

* La Norm. Souterraine, 254, 255.
† Wilson, p. 300.
‡ Ibid., p. 424.
§ Guide to Northern Archæology, Ellesmere, p. 56.

Irish Rack-comb—Bone.

is made in twelve sections. It is about ten inches long. In the temporary museum at South Kensington, there were very curious examples of combs exhibited by H. W. Sass, Esq., John Webb, Esq., and the Messrs. Farrer. One of shell, belonging to Mr. Webb, has a knob like a pea at the end of each of the teeth.

There are numerous allusions to the comb in our old English literature. In the ancient ballad of *Annie o' Lochryan,* she speaks of dressing her hair "wi' a new-made siller kame;" but as the mast of her boat was of gold and the sails of silk, while the timbers were covered with bells and pearls,* it is probable that the comb owed its costly material to the imagination of the minstrel. In that of *Sweet William and Fair Margaret,* the latter is represented more naturally as combing her hair with an ivory comb.† In the *Inventorium Sepulchrale,* two elegant examples are engraved, of double combs of bone or ivory, each of which has two sheaths of the same material to cover the teeth, one at each side. The form alone is preserved; as unfortunately both crumbled to pieces. One is engraved here. This fact serves to indicate the degree of care with which the comb was preserved. In the quotation already given from the ballad of *Fair Annie,* she is represented as taking the comb out of a coffer in which it was usually preserved.



Double comb, with sheaths.

* Minstrelsy of the Border, II., 426. Chambers's Ballads, p. 227.

† Percy's Reliques, III., 166.

XXXV.—POTTERY, GLASS, AND ENAMEL.*

Plate XXXI.

1.—Introduction.

The Potter's art is one of the most ancient of handicrafts; it is alluded to in the first book of Chronicles, chap. iv. verse 3.

In Greece and Etruria this art flourished supremely, and the specimens extant, mainly designed as prizes for the victors in the most renowned games and combats of the age, attest at once the patience, skill, and taste of their manipulators.

Under the sway of imperial Rome, Grecian artists long continued to be employed not only as manufacturers, but teachers of the arts, wherever the conquering sword of the mistress of the world opened a way, often into regions hitherto all but unknown to commerce, science, or civilization. Even Britain, the *Ultima Thule* of the era, received no small share of such attention; indeed it would appear, considering its distance from the grand seat of empire, to have been a singularly favoured province, as is fairly evidenced in the numerous works of public utility constructed by the state, as military roads, bridges, temples, and other erections; whilst the magnificence and extent of the private villas—such for instance as the one at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, and that near Bignor, in Sussex—sufficiently exemplify the wealth and high social position of their proprietors.

The ceramic art was equally extended with others, and Romano-British potteries arose, wherever the best clays were discovered abundantly. Whole kilns have been disclosed in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire;† and immense quantities of half or partially dried and broken crockery in the marshes of the Medway, near Upchurch, and also upon the banks of the Severn, prove the former existence of extensive potteries in these localities. Wherever existent, the site of every Roman villa, military station, or fortified town, will, upon

* This article is written by Mr. Smith, my own remarks being indicated as before.

† Vide the Durobrivæ of Antoninus; illustrated by the late E. T. Artis, fo., London, 1823.

examination, be found replete with debris of crockery and tiles, the multifarious fragments of which "cumber the ground," often to a depth of from twelve to fourteen feet, in proportion to the amount of subsequent occupation. Three-fourths of this mass of *disjecta membra* will prove, in the average of such localities, to have been the produce of this country, made doubtlessly under the active superintendence of skilled artificers from Italy, Spain, or southern France, each of these countries being contemporaneously famed for some particular description of plastic ware. Under ordinary circumstances, therefore, we should anticipate the existence of similar remains at this settlement on the Cheshire shore; but the total removal of its very *site* (analogous instances having occurred at Flamborough Head, Yorkshire, and at the Reculvers, Kent, the latter within the remembrance of living men), sufficiently accounts for the slight appearance of pottery of this era. Some fragments of dark slate-coloured ware, and probably of sepulchral urns, are apparently all we have to note. Centuries ago, the pottery, together with remains of any permanent buildings, must have been washed away into what are now underlying strata of the submerged sand-banks, which are very unlikely to be disturbed except by great change in the channel; the gradual but certain subsidence of this coast forbidding the hope of any reclamation of the sand flats to seaward.

2.—Glass and Enamel.

A few small objects in glass and enamel, of similar date, require notice here. They would seem to have been lost from the person in the glades of the forest, and are washed out of the remaining vegetable accretion by the tides, comprising enamelled ornaments of brooches, etc., with beads, and heads of bronze pins in glass. A fine bead recently found (see woodcut, p. 162), in common with others analogous in composition, size, and form, excavated by Bryan Faussett and others from ancient cemeteries in Kent, is believed to be of

Roman manufacture. These large beads appear to have been highly prized by our Saxon forefathers, who used them as gauds or central beads (one to three in number) of their necklaces, the others being chiefly of small size and generally uniform in character. Our Hilbre Island example was thrown to the surface by a rabbit which had selected for its burrow a portion of the site of the old burying-ground attached to the religious *Celle* of monks (connected with the Abbey of St. Werburg in Chester), where also part of a Saxon sepulchral cross was uncovered a few years ago.* Possibly a thorough investigation of the locality might result in the disclosure of other interesting remains, and it is worthy of note that all the antiquities occurring here, of which we have any knowledge, prove to be of early date. The glass composing the bead is of a beautiful cobalt-blue and transparent; the enamels, which are opaque, consist of a vein or marbling of yellow, intertwined by a thread of green, the effect of the combination being very good. Vitreous compositions are known to have been in common use in ancient Egypt and Etruria, and remarkably fine examples, from Thebes and other cities, may be seen in the National Collection, as well as in Mr. Mayer's valuable Egyptian and General Museum, Colquitt Street, Liverpool.

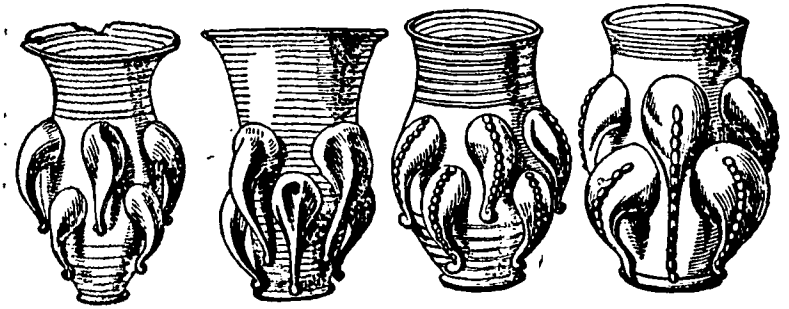
Undoubtedly the earliest specimens of enamel found in Cheshire are those ornamenting Roman brooches of the first, second, and third centuries, several of which are represented, (Plate III.,) together with the bead just mentioned. Their prevailing colours are blue, brown, scarlet, crimson, and green, the two last having often apparently faded into maroon and olive; white and lemon-yellow have also been noticed. At least one-half—an unusually large proportion—of the fibulæ of this period have been thus ornamented; but most have suffered from decomposition, and possibly in colour, from the dyeing properties of the decaying vegetable matter in which they have been imbedded for from twelve to fifteen hundred years. It

* See woodcut, p. 267; there is evidence that it was "sepulchral."—A. H.

may, nevertheless, be doubted whether any locality in England has produced a larger number retaining so perfectly this coloured decoration. In this country, fine examples are of rare occurrence. From recent investigations, it appears that most if not *all* the substances now employed in the manufacture of coloured glazes or enamel, were known to and used by the ancients, as quartz, flint, felspar, gypsum (sulphate of lime), borax, common salt, potash, soda, oxide of lead, etc. The chief colours were produced by admixture of these materials with oxide of manganese, copper, iron, chromium or cobalt.

Glass.—The beads and heads of metal pins in glass are generally of a globular form. Two specimens are, however, cylindrical; such were cut from an elongated tube-shaped body, which could thus be divided to suit the taste of purchasers. Their greenish-blue colour was probably imparted by copper or chromium; whilst their opacity results from the use of oxide of tin, or phosphate of lime. They appertain to the Saxon era, to which may also be referred fragments of yellowish semi-transparent glass, which have evidently belonged to some specimen of the remarkable glass drinking-cups of the period, whose superfluity of pendent ornamentation constitute a distinguishing feature.* Of the English period, the Cheshire

* The vessels alluded to by Mr. Smith are shown in the following specimens, from different parts of England and from the Continent. The Saxon glass was frequently characterized by a thread or band wound round the exterior of the cups.—A. H.



From Reculver, Kent. Selzen, Germany. Fairford, Gloucestershire. The valley of the Eaulne, France.

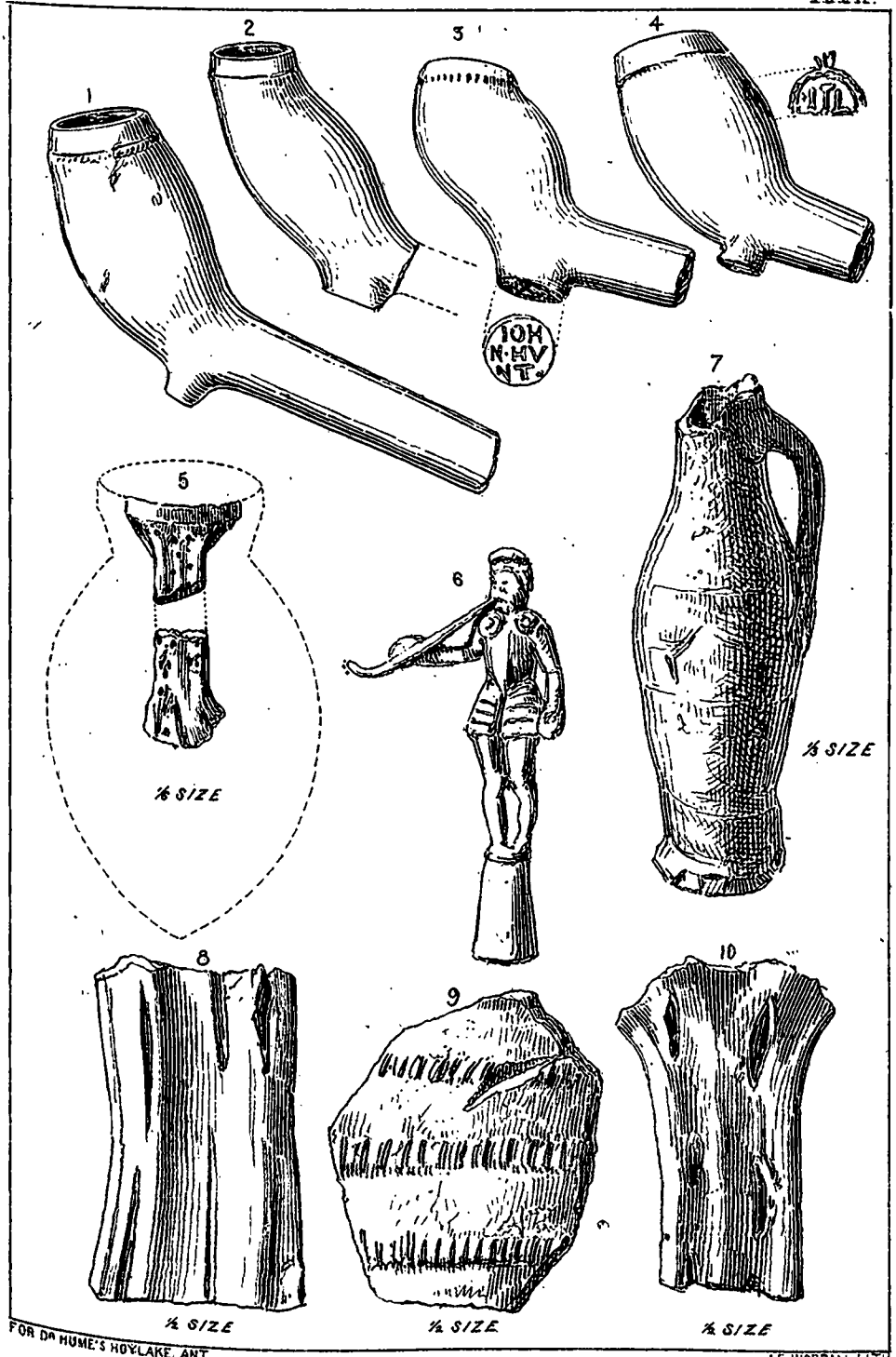
shore has, we believe, produced no specimen of glass earlier than the age of Elizabeth, of which occurs a bottle for oil, wide at the base but sharply tapering into a confined neck. It stands about seven inches high, the body being of considerable thickness, and of an olive-green colour.

3.—Mediæval Domestic Crockery.

Despite repeated attempts, but little has been evoked to enlighten even the antiquarian public, relative to the ceramic products of our country, during the lengthened period extending from the fourth to the fifteenth century. The main facts mentioned below have been garnered from three sources; viz., the recent beautiful edition of Mr. Jos. Marryatt's comprehensive and valuable *History of Pottery and Porcelain*, the very useful Catalogue of Specimens in the Museum of Economic Geology at London, by the late Sir Henry De la Beche and Mr. Weeks; and lastly, a paper especially upon Mediæval earthenware, by Mr. Chaffers, which appears in the fifth volume of the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, the writer of which had the advantage of possessing the largest collection in England, almost entirely procured by himself from the substrata of London. The best specimens are now to be met with in the National Museum of Economic Geology; but Mr. Mayer possesses many characteristic examples in his invaluable ceramic hoards at Liverpool.

Mr. Boutell* states: "Pottery in use in our country may probably have been manufactured at home; we have not, however, discovered any authentic sources of information upon the subject. One thing is certain, that we are in possession of no such relics of the pottery of the centuries that intervene between the conquest and the reformation, as would enable us to deduce from them any distinct and definite information, with respect to ceramic manufactures, during this period. At the same time, we know that inlaid and glazed pavement tiles were both used and made in England; and we have abundant

* Hand-book of Archæology, 1859.



POTTERY AND PIPES.

evidence to show that they were produced in great numbers, and with admirable skill."

Mr. Marryatt more confidently reports the result of careful investigation—

"Though vessels of early pottery do not very frequently occur, still a sufficient number of specimens have been found to give us a very fair idea of its general character. They are chiefly formed of coarse and somewhat brittle ware, rendered capable of containing liquids by being covered with a green or dark yellow glaze. Should the workman wish to produce a bright and light-coloured green, he coated the vessel with a thin wash of pipeclay; or, to relieve the monotony of the surface, he made rude scrolls and flourishes in white, afterwards covered with the yellow glaze, or he moulded on the body small ornaments in relief.

"A very interesting discovery at Lincoln, in the parish of St. Mary le Wigford, revealed some of the *Terra-cotta Moulds* which had been employed by a potter of the fourteenth century. They were found with numerous fragments near the remains of a kiln, and are, as far as we are aware, the only specimens of the kind that have been discovered. From the head-dresses represented upon them, they evidently belong to the reign of Edward III. The mode in which these heads were applied, is shown by a fragment found with them, which is preserved, together with the moulds, in the collection of Mr. Arthur Trollope of Lincoln.

"The larger portion of the mediæval vessels that have been found, consists of jugs; many of these have been discovered in the city of London, and a large series of various shapes and forms is in the British Museum. These vessels are occasionally very tall and slender. Some of the earlier specimens are indented round their base, as if with the potter's thumb. The use of *lead glaze* for vessels was continued down to a late period. It was chiefly applied to coarse ware, and was made probably all in England, as the transport of articles so small in value, and so large in bulk,* would not be remunerative, especially at a time when the means of conveyance were not so attainable as they now are."†

"However difficult it may be to feel assured of the pottery used in Britain much anterior to the Norman conquest, certain earthenware vessels have been discovered in situations,

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* *Vide* Pl. XXXI., figs. 8, 9, 10. | † Hist. Brit. Pottery, p. 137—140.

and under circumstances, pointing to their use in this country for ordinary and domestic wants in the times commonly termed mediæval. The earliest examples are commonly of inelegant forms.* Now and then a specimen may present somewhat of the designs of better periods; but almost all those which may be considered as of British manufacture usually offer little that could be termed tasteful. At the same time, ordinary pitchers and cups seem to have been employed at the tables of more important persons than might have been supposed, and were even thought worthy of notice in inventories of royal households, as that of Edward IV., *vide* Liber Niger,† p. 78."

Summing up the information supplied above, we find that of our national fictile produce, from the fourth to the twelfth century, few specimens are known to exist, whilst of the succeeding centuries, the only articles of domestic crockery manufactured were varieties, in point of shape, of the common jug and drinking-cup. These were generally of inelegant form, and destitute of ornament, almost universally of the coarsest material, and rarely found at the present day in a perfect state. Dishes and plates, among other modern forms now indispensable, would seem to have been unknown in this country until introduced from the continent in the fourteenth century, and their manufacture in this country consequently dates from a still later period. The specimens of pottery found upon the Cheshire shore, apparently all belong to the Norman and mediæval class. Unfortunately they exist in a very fragmentary state, as might be expected from long-continued habitation and tillage of the artificial soil in which they were mostly imbedded. The only piece tolerably perfect is the slenderly formed little pitcher, standing eight inches high, of a brownish slate-coloured ware.‡ It closely resembles an example found in London, and preserved in the Museum of Practical Geology. This most useful

* *Vide* Mr. Chaffers's Specimens and Illustrations from Norman MSS., previously alluded to.

† De la Beche and Weeks's "Catalogue," p. 106.

‡ Pl. XXXI., fig. 7.

collection, we have already stated, possesses the best collection of English mediæval crockery; but we believe that our fragments present a much greater variety of *qualities*, if not shapes of ware, some having been glazed, and others shewing the application of pigments inside or outside, and occasionally upon both surfaces. Again, several of our jug-handles present a novelty in their rude decoration; viz., *slashed* patterns, an ornamentation much in vogue at this period, as well as later. It occurs in various designs upon both round and flattened handles, though more deeply incised in the latter, which have evidently belonged to pitchers of a large size, but does not appear upon other portions of such vessels which may safely be referred to from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; *vide* Plate XXXI., figs. 5, 8, and 10. Fig. 9 represents part of a large crock, the peculiar streaked or digitated bands of which seem to have encircled it at intervals from top to bottom.

As an illustration of differences, both in form and ornamentation, two of the mortuary urns from the midland counties may be shown. The one is from Cestersover, in the county of Warwick, and the other from Marston Hill, in Northamptonshire.

From Warwickshire.

From Northamptonshire.

The great mass of fragments represent no small variety of shape, size, and composition; the coarser kinds, however, predominate, and their material is occasionally so thickly strewn with pulverized stone or flint, as to resemble the bottoms of Roman *mortaria*, in which grain and fruits were regularly pounded for cookery. Hazarding a conjecture as to size, we should say the vessels had ranged from six to eighteen inches in height, by three inches to eight inches in breadth, or capable

of holding from a gill to a gallon of liquid. In form, the larger proportion have been slender, though varying much in the proportionate thickness of the neck, and always narrowing considerably towards the base, except in late mediæval examples, wherein a tendency to greater breadth and capacity is observable.

The *Glazes* are mostly of a green or brown colour, and unquestionably more for use than ornament, merely *covering* the rim and contiguous portions of the vessel, which were likely to come into contact with the lips in drinking. In only one instance have we noticed a pattern in coloured paint, which occurs upon a white and unglazed ground, and may possibly prove to be of earlier fabrication.

A close inspection of these fictile remains discovers no fragments of either plates or dishes; and this circumstance tells in favour of the opinion alluded to above, that forms now so universally distributed and essential, were (in crockery) unknown to or unused by our forefathers, so lately as the conclusion of the thirteenth century. Wooden platters must have alone obtained. In connection with this point, Mr. Hudson Turner remarks—"Earthenware, though certainly made in England in the thirteenth century, in the form of pitchers and jars, does not seem to have been applied to the fabrication of plates or (shallow) dishes. Probably the earliest instance of the use of the latter may be ascribed to the reign of Edward IV., when certain dishes and plates of earthenware were purchased (for the court) from the cargo of a great ship which came from Spain, and which, among other novelties, brought the *first oranges* known to have been introduced into England."*

We may note that a dealer in dishes and porringers was denominated an *esqueler* (often pronounced *squeler*), from the French *ecuelle;* hence our modern *scullery*, a place where table

* Dom. Architecture in England, p. 102.

crockery is washed up. The cognomen of *potter* was introduced by the Normans, the Saxon synonyme being *tyl-wryght* (tile-wright), a name found in our earliest provincial records, and known to have been borne by a family resident at Burslem in the Potteries for several centuries.*

Since the above was written, our attention has been drawn to a notice in *The Reliquary*, an antiquarian periodical of considerable merit, in which the editor, Mr. L. Jewitt of Derby, publishes his discovery, in that neighbourhood, of a Norman or mediæval pottery, which is perhaps unique. Although as yet the mounds have been but partially explored, a large mass of *wasters*, and other debris, have been disinterred, including a few nearly perfect examples of the twelfth to fourteenth century pitchers. A personal inspection has since satisfactorily demonstrated the contemporaneous workings of this pottery—the kilns of which have not yet been, but probably will be, found —with the cultivation of the artificial stratum (of mixed bog and sand) on the Cheshire shore, in which fragments of precisely similar ware occur, and in an isolated manner, as if spread, as in the present day, along with manure or other household refuse.

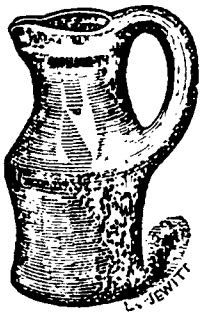
Norman Pitchers.

Some of our Cheshire examples are, however, of earlier manufacture than any we noticed at the Derbyshire pottery; others are identical in material, shape, and glaze; whilst others again would seem to be of later make, say the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The slashed and indented patterns upon many of our

* Hist. Brit. Pottery, p. 148.

handles, and previously regarded as peculiar to this neighbourhood, have exact counterparts at the lately found manufactory, where indeed it seems by no means unlikely these were *all* produced.



Clumsy Norman Jug.

Improved Norman Jug.

In *glaze*, the products of both localities confirm our opinion (in contradistinction to that of Mr. Marryatt quoted above), that early English crockery was but rarely covered inside and *out* with glaze *to hold liquids*. In fact, upon the examples in question, it is usually found merely covering the upper rim and the base of the vessel; when extending over the outside, it is evidently the result of dipping rather than design in all that have come under our notice. The conclusion we arrive at necessarily is, that these crocks were mostly sufficiently kiln-baked to withstand percolation.

Peculiar Vessel with projecting handle.

4.—Spindle Whorls and Beads.*

The miscellaneous articles in terra-cotta comprise "spindle-whorls," beads, and smoking-pipes. The first are of a bluish stone colour, flat and circular in form, and with a moderate-sized perforation in the centre. The specimens hitherto noticed are, with one exception, (Pl. XIV. fig. 2,) nearly uniform in contour, only differing in their sharp or rounded edges, thus contrasting strongly with the far more numerous objects in lead of presumably analogous purpose, as connected with the

* See Art. IX., p. 151, and X., p. 157.

ancient spindle, which continued in use from Roman or earlier times, down to the age of Elizabeth. The late Mr. Thomas Bateman, the Derbyshire antiquary, records the frequent occurrence of such perforated disks of clay on Roman sites, and considered it not improbable they might also have been used in some sedentary *game*.

The Saxon cemeteries of Kent, again, disclose numbers of these articles; and it not unfrequently happens that the sex of the occupant of the grave is solely determined by the presence of the spindle-whorl, the remainder of the personal relics of the deceased, in Saxon fashion always accompanying the corpse, having been stolen or become decomposed.* In two cases the whorls have been made of pounded tile or brick, and retain a reddish colour; but the remainder are of a fine clay, probably the local blue marl. They have occasionally been thought manufactured from some fine porous stone; but this proves to have been a mistake, The upper bed of marl lies immediately beneath the main stratum of forest-bog, yet crops out in several spots along the beach.

The *beads* of terra-cotta approach more nearly to the shape of an orange than any of the last-named objects, and generally present a remarkably and apparently unnecessarily large perforation,† considering their use, which was chiefly that of *gauds*, or central beads of rosaries; most probably the orifices have been enlarged by the friction of long-continued use.

XXXVI.—TOBACCO-PIPES.‡—Plate XXXI.

Very small pipes are found all over these islands, which are known in Ireland as Fairy pipes or Danes' pipes. The

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* Inventorium Sepulchrale.

† See figs. 7 and 10, Plate XV.

‡ For most of the forms shown here, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Jewitt of Derby. They appeared in illustration of two articles in the *Reliquary*, vol. III., pp. 74 and 79. It was originally intended that Mr. Ecroyd Smith should write this article; and he has described the objects on the Plate. His remarks are given at the close.

name is of no importance, and no inference can be founded upon it; for the Irish attribute any thing unusually small to the fairies, and any thing very ancient or inexplicable to the Danes. But the question has never yet been decided, that is to say satisfactorily, whether they are very ancient or comparatively modern. The growing opinion is that few, if any, are more than three centuries old.

On the one hand, it is certain that the fumes of burning plants were inhaled, medicinally and for pleasure, centuries before the time of Raleigh, and in various countries of the old Continent, including our own. It is also clear, as has been shown by the late Professor Johnson and others, that the widely extended use of some narcotic by mankind, shows a natural demand for it in certain circumstances of the human constitution. To this earlier use of some of the well-known vegetable substances, it is possible and even probable that a few of the older and smaller forms may be attributed; and thus that the theory of high antiquity, in regard to the smoking-pipe, is not altogether erroneous.

On the other hand, it is certain that the use of American tobacco in this country commenced in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about 1585; that it spread with great rapidity, and attracted much attention; that numerous factories for tobacco-pipes were soon after established; and that a very large percentage of the examples met with, extend no further back than the close of the sixteenth century. Few assert that the smoking-tube (used in connection with some substance) was then manufactured for the first time; the argument is, that from that date it came into extensive use, and in the forms with which we are familiar. There is thus both negative and positive evidence, the details of which it is impossible to give here, that smoking-tubes or pipes were known in the British islands before the time of Elizabeth.

The early smoking-pipes, even those which we know to have been employed in connection with tobacco, were distin-

guished by a small bowl; but that fact may not have arisen solely from the scarcity of the material consumed. The tobacco-pipe, as we see it represented in old pictures, had a stem of five or six inches long, like our own; but those which are found from time to time are usually fragments, the stem being rarely more than an inch in length.

Certain Indians of North America gave the name *tabak* to the instrument which they used in smoking; the Spaniards, from this fact, gave name to the island of *Tobago;* and by changing a voice consonant to a voiceless one, (or the sound of *g* to that of *k*,) we have the term *tobacco.* There is strong evidence that it was extensively used in this neighbourhood during the last century. In 1787, every man, woman, and almost every boy and girl, in the village of Formby, smoked at nearly all hours and in all places. Every person who came to the vestry to speak to the minister came with the pipe in his mouth, and it appeared an affectation of singularity to be without it. The reason which they assigned for the prevalence of the custom was, that many years before, a ship laden with tobacco had been stranded on the adjoining sands, and that the large quantity procured from the wreck, by the country people, had wedded them all to the habit.* But the cause probably lay deeper than this, and belonged to philosophy rather than to history. At the date assigned, the marshes of the Alt were undrained; Martin-mere and other shallow pools occupied the long and dreary flat without any suitable egress; so that the fenny exhalations produced a natural craving, such as is gratified by opium-eating in some of our eastern shires, or by frequent smoking of tobacco in Holland.

In my boyhood I was familiar with the *Gospel Sonnets* of the Rev. Ralph Erskine—one of the godly men of Scotland about 130 years ago, though actually a native of England—and they contain two curious poems on the same subject,

* Information communicated by the late Rev. Robert Cort, of Kirkby.

"Smoking spiritualized." I may be permitted to quote a few stanzas from one of them in a note.*

The cigar-case and tobacco-pipe of our own days have quite set aside the snuff-boxes of our grandsires, though the process of snuff-taking is still common in the Highlands of Scotland. At the Mayor's dinner parties in our Town Hall, a large silver snuff-box with feet is occasionally passed round the table, and tradition affirms that it is the actual tobacco-box of the last or the previous century. It is not impossible that, in illustration of the cycles of fashion, it may yet return to its original use.

Surprise is often expressed that the use of tobacco was so general before the close of the sixteenth century; that it sprung into popularity with such rapidity. But there are many examples of new substances attaining a rapid and extensive popularity, and a secondary or acquired appetite sometimes takes a firm hold of individuals. We have an illustration of it in our own age, and in the case of tobacco. It is not much more than about fifty years since it was introduced among the people of New Zealand, yet in twelve or fifteen years it had become almost a necessary of life. The following quotation is interesting:—

"The tribe were getting ready for a war expedition, and my friend was filling cartridges from a fifty-pound barrel of gunpowder, pouring the gunpowder into the cartridges with his hand, and smoking his pipe at the time; as I have seen the natives doing fifty times since. A spark fell into the cask, and it is scarcely necessary to say that he was roasted alive in a second. I have known three other accidents of the same kind from smoking while filling cartridges. In one of these

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* This Indian weed, now wither'd quite,
Though green at noon, cut down at night,
Shows thy decay;
All flesh is hay:
Thus think—and smoke tobacco.

The pipe, so lily-like and weak,
Does thus thy mortal state bespeak;
Thou art e'en such,
Gone, with a touch!
Thus think—and smoke tobacco.

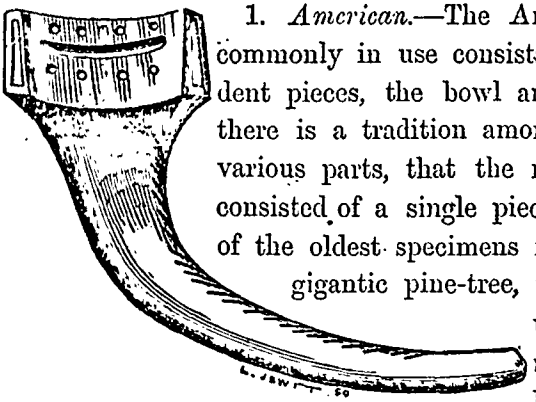
And when the smoke ascends on high,
Then thou behold'st the vanity
Of worldly stuff,
Gone, with a puff!
Thus think—and smoke tobacco.

And when the pipe grows foul within,
Think on thy soul defiled with sin;
For then the fire
It does require:
Thus think—and smoke tobacco.

And see'st the ashes cast away,
Then to thyself thou mayest say—
That to the dust
Return thou must:
Thus think—and smoke tobacco.

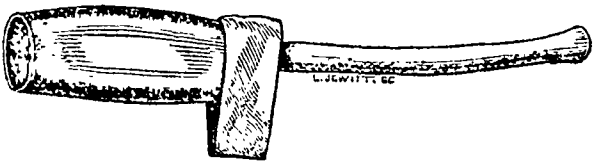
accidents three lives were lost and many injured; and I really do believe that the certainty of death will not prevent some of the natives from smoking for more than a given time. I have often seen infants refuse the mother's breast and cry for the pipe till it was given to them; and dying natives often ask for a pipe, and die smoking."*

I will now exhibit some interesting forms of the tobacco-pipe, following, as nearly as possible, the chronological order:—



Pipe from Thunder Bay.

1. *American.*—The American pipe now commonly in use consists of two independent pieces, the bowl and the stem; but there is a tradition among the Indians of various parts, that the more ancient ones consisted of a single piece, like ours. One of the oldest specimens is given here. A gigantic pine-tree, which had grown upon an old grave near Thunder Bay, Michigan, was blown down; and the pipe was found in the deposit below its roots. It is of fine-grained yellowish pottery, resembling terra-cotta; but less baked and less finely tempered.† The Moqui Indians, a pastoral tribe of New Mexico, possess a peculiar form of pipe, nearly straight, to which some of our modern ones appear to be an approximation.‡ But the most noted example of the prevalent taste, as well as of skill in the manufacture, is one



Moqui Pipe.

Pipe Bowl, in form of an Idol.

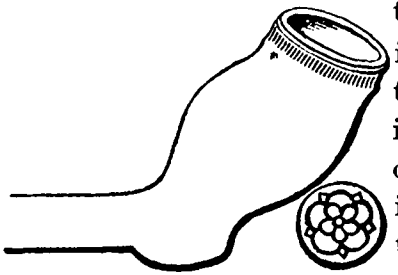
* Old New Zealand, pp. 37, 38.

† Schoolcraft, I., 74; Pl. viii.

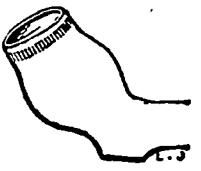
‡ Schoolcraft, IV., Pl. vii.

which is found in the form of an idol. It is eleven inches high; the orifice forming the bowl, and that for the insertion of the shank, are both in the back; and, when discovered, it was seated on the top of a high rock.*

2. *English.*—Annexed is a supposed Elizabethan pipe (*a*), from the style of which it has been inferred that it was manufactured in Shropshire. The next (*b*) is of the same date, but small in size. The third specimen (*c*) is from Duffield, and is ascribed to the same period. The specimen (*d*) is from Broseley, and bears the date 1600.



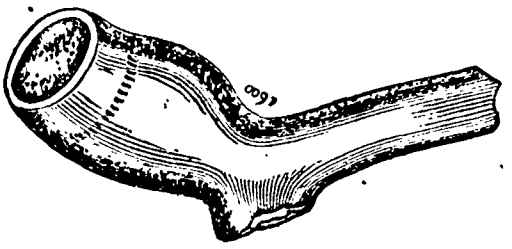
(*a*) Elizabethan Pipe.



(*b*) Elizabethan Pipe, full size.

(*c*) From Duffield.

Connected with the reigns of James I. and Charles I., or extending through the

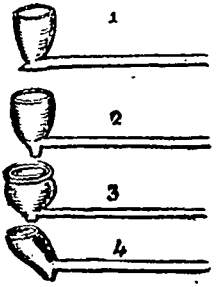


(*d*) From Broseley.

first half of the seventeenth century, we have the following. First (*e*), whose date is fixed inferentially, and four others (*f*) from ancient prints, whose dates range over ten or eleven years. To these may be added a very curious one (*g*), with an anchor, and something like a pile of bullets over the letters, S. T.

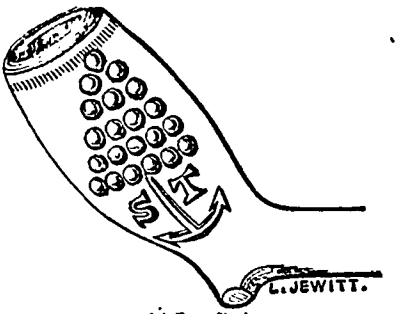
(*e*) Temp. James I. or Charles I.

* Schoolcraft, I., Pl. xiii.



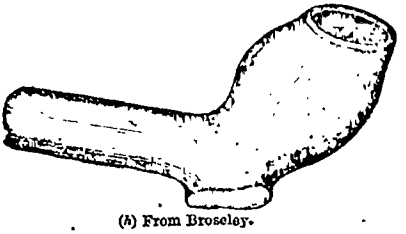
1630.
1632.
1640.
1641.

(*f*) Forms from Prints.

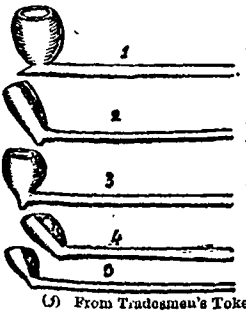


(*g*) From Derby.

The following belong to the period of the Commonwealth and Charles II. A barrel-shaped specimen (*h*) from Broseley; and five specimens (*j*) mainly from tradesmen's tokens. Another barrel-shaped pipe (*k*), but without a date, is evidently of the same period; it is from Devonshire. The next three examples are from Broseley, and are all dated, viz. (*l*) 1675; (*m*) 1681; (*n*) 1685.

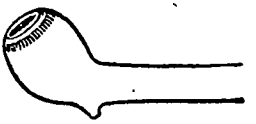


(*h*) From Broseley.

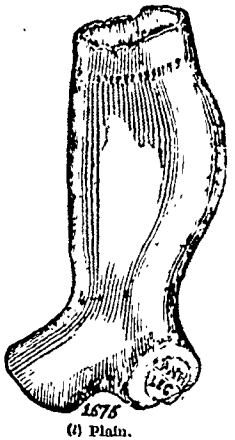


1650.
1666.
1668.
1668.
1669.

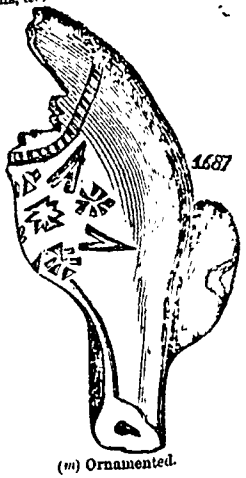
(*j*) From Tradesmen's Tokens, &c.



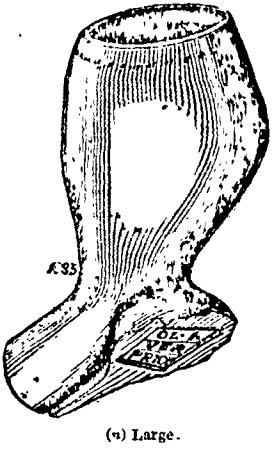
(*k*) From Devonshire.



(*l*) Plain.

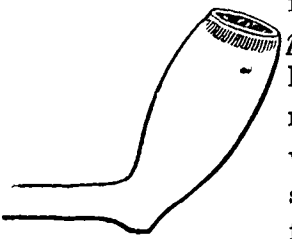


(*m*) Ornamented.

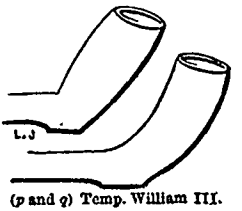


(*n*) Large.

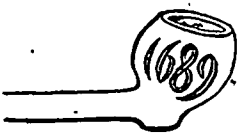
The pipes of the reign of William III. exhibit longer bowls, and were probably brought to this country by the Dutch soldiers. They are found on the scenes of his battles in Ireland, and near the place of his embarkation at Hoylake; but at some distance from the site of the submerged settlement at Meols. Three specimens (*o*, *p*, and *q*) are shown here. But the barrel-shaped pipes were not superseded, as is evident from a dated specimen (*r*); and it is not unlikely that these were of native manufacture, and the long-bowled ones from Holland. An undated specimen (*s*) from Broseley, is probably of the same period. Another from Broseley (*t*), slightly differing in shape, exhibits the date, 1696.



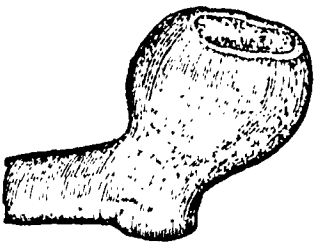
(*o*) Temp. William III.



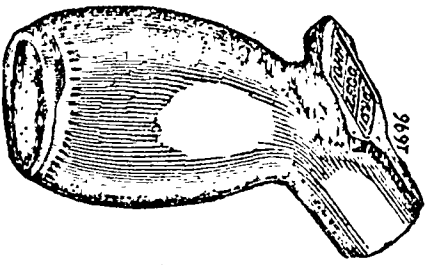
(*p* and *q*) Temp. William III.



(*r*) Broseley.

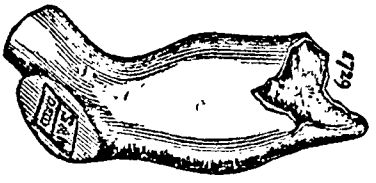


(*s*) Broseley.

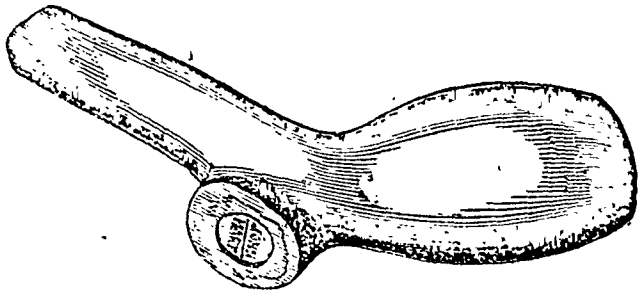


(*t*) Broseley.

Of the eighteenth century pipes, there is a Broseley specimen (*v*) dated 1729; and by the side of it we may place an undated specimen (*w*), evidently more modern than most of the others. This is from the same place. The last specimens under this head are two (*x* and *y*) in which the bowl and stem form an unusually obtuse angle with each other.

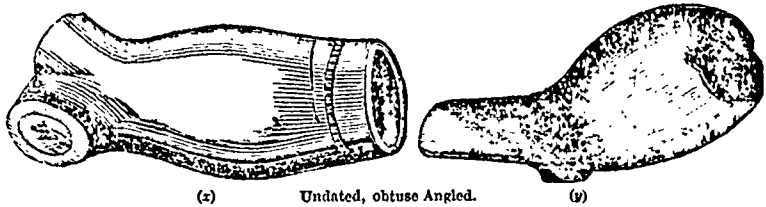


(*v*) Broseley.



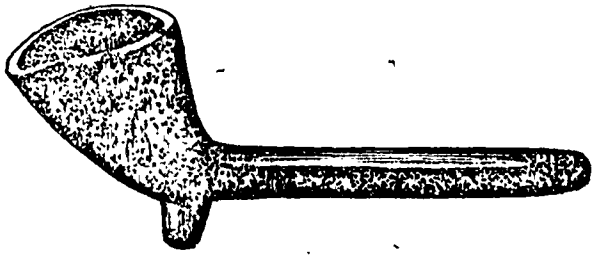
(w) Broseley.

3. *Irish.*—Brass tobacco-pipes are sometimes found in Ireland, and there are thirteen specimens in the collection



(x) Undated, obtuse Angled. (y)

of the Royal Irish Academy. They are of the usual size, formed in two parts, and brazed together. The adjoining example is from the cut in Dr. Wilde's Catalogue, and the junction is very visible in both the bowl and the stem. The



Brass Tobacco-Pipe.

date assigned to this is the end of the seventeenth century, and it is supposed to be of Flemish workmanship.

There were quaint tobacco-boxes introduced into this country about the same time, no doubt from various parts of the Low Countries. One, in my own possession, is of brass, tinned within; it is oval in shape, of about an inch in thickness, and has a chain attached near the hinge for suspending it over the arm. It is covered with engraving both on top

and bottom, which may be regarded as a specimen of Dutch wit and sentiment. On the lid, the upper half of the ellipse is occupied by five persons, including a fisherman, who has ensnared a woman in a net. In ovals underneath, they speak in Dutch respectively as follows :—

Woman.—Although I seem frightened, I allow myself to be taken.

Fisherman.—This trick has been well planned, and I have brought the fish in my net.

Gentleman.—Fisherman, if you get many such fish, you may sell some of it to me.

Monk.—If I had such fish to eat in my monastery, it would make me forget meat.

Cripple.—Father, such fish has been the cause that I walk on crutches.

On the bottom of the box three men support a log of wood on their shoulders ; and there occur the three lines—

Here am I carrying the burden which every man must carry.
If every one would carry his own burden, it would be the best ;
For every one will have enough to carry at the last.

These sentiments are probably supposed to be uttered by the three men respectively.

4. *Anglo-American.*—In 1764 a medal was struck in England, apparently for presentation to the chiefs among the American Indians. The obverse has the profile and inscription similar to those on our coins ; but the reverse represents a British officer seated beside an Indian under a spreading tree. The town and harbour of New York appear in the background. The Indian holds in his hand a long pipe ; and the legend is, "Happy when united." The ring for suspension is formed by a pipe crossed by the wing of a bird ; and the form of the pipe is shown here. It exhibits a junction like that of the brass pipe from Ireland.

From the Georgian Medal, 1764.

The remarks following are Mr. Smith's:—

The *smoking-pipes* include many of the forms in use from early English time downward, those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries predominating, and comprising two or three of the most limited capacity ever found in this country, and which are not unlikely to have been used for inhaling the fumes of narcotics, &c., long anteriorly to the introduction of tobacco* into the British Isles, at whatever time this may prove to have taken place; for at present the date is undetermined.

It has been erroneously supposed that the site of William of Orange's camp off Hoylake supplied these smaller forms of pipe, which are universally allowed to be the oldest; the mistake has doubtlessly arisen in the general application of this quite modern name to the whole neighbourhood, inclusive of several ancient hamlets, one of which, Great Meols, is the true locality of the earliest shapes, see figs. 1, 2, 3. Examples with more capacious bowls, and pointed spur or keel, are found near or on the supposed site of the camp; these, however, bear no stamp, private mark, or initials of the potter, whilst those turned up at Great Meols generally are found to possess one of the three. On old pipes throughout this country dates are rare, and the occurrence of a potter's name in full infrequent, only one appearing here. It bears the short name of JOHN HUNT, but the very limited space occasions its division into three lines, Pl. XXXI., fig. 3. This manufacturer had evidently good sale for his ware, specimens of which have been found in many distant counties. Judging from the formation of the letters, we should say he lived *temp.* Cromwell and Charles II.

Pipe-making had commenced at Broseley, in Staffordshire, before the close of the sixteenth century. The raw material then, as now, was the fine white clays of Devon and Cornwall,

* *Vide* "Notes on Clay Pipes," &c., Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh. Session, 1859—60.

and the manufacture is thus described by Mr. Thursfield, a large local collector.*

"Pipe-making, in the early days of its introduction, was a very different matter from what it is now. Then the greater part of the manipulation was performed by the master, and twenty or twenty-four gross was the largest quantity ever burned in one kiln. This required from fifteen cwt. to a ton of coal. Each pipe rested on its bowl, and the stem was supported by rings of pipeclay placed one upon the other as the kiln became filled; the result was that at least twenty per cent. were warped or broken in the kiln. At the present time the preliminary preparations of the clay are performed by men, but the most delicate part is almost entirely intrusted to the hands of women. The pipes are placed in suggers, to be burned after the Dutch mode; and from 350 to 400 gross in one kiln is not an uncommon quantity. The breakages at the present day amount to not more than one per cent., and the quantity I have named requires no more than from eight to ten tons of coal for burning."

The smallness of the pipe-mouth necessitated the constant use of *stoppers*, which were manufactured of different substances, and in great variety of form.† They were often attached to the person; but do not appear to have been much noticed by antiquaries or others, probably in the latter case from their use being unknown. When met with, they are mostly of brass, of which metal our example (fig. 6) is made. It is one of the earliest known forms, and represents a soldier habited in the latest fashion of plate armour, *temp.* James I., supporting by the right hand a long pipe of some kind.

Subjoined are the pipe-potter's marks we have been able to decipher upon examples in our local collections:‡—

Within a plain circle, IOH / NHV / NT

* "Old Broseleys," The Reliquary, Vol. III., p. 81.

† A number of these curious articles are engraved in Fairholt's "Tobacco and its Associations."

‡ Fourteen pipes, in addition to these, were discovered in 1862 (see Part II., *Addenda*), of which seven are supposed to be of the sixteenth century, and seven of the seventeenth. The only new marks which they supply are ED, ER, RA.

Within a dotted circle, AB.—H—IB—IM—R.F.—a sprig of tobacco plant between them—S.R.—TP—

Within a plain square, $\frac{\text{BEN}}{\text{LEGG}}$—T.H.—

Within a dotted heart, GC—

Within a dotted arch, A.C.—IB—IL—IR—

XXXVII.—ANIMAL REMAINS.—PLATE XXXII.

WE are not yet sufficiently informed to be able to enumerate, without exception, what animals possessed the earth with man in these countries during the historic period; but careful researches of late have enabled us to advance the question a few steps nearer to solution. That he used the inferior animals at an early period for food and clothing is certain; and, as tillage was little understood and less practised during the paucity of population, animal food was used in much larger proportions than at present. In some extensive districts in South America, flesh is the traveller's only food, almost without a single specimen of vegetable food, even by way of variety.

Hence, wherever we find traces of human habitation, we may expect to find bones, horns, teeth, &c.; and in some instances, as at Richborough, the remains are peculiar, as we trace the Romans by their mounds of oyster-shells.

Animal remains are found in two conditions—viz. (1), in a natural state, and (2), manufactured; and not unfrequently they are found in both these conditions at any one place.

1.—IN THE NATURAL STATE.

In recording what has been found in this locality, it will not be necessary to do more than to arrange in catalogue form the remains which have come to light. We must premise that the general fauna differs in no important respect from that of any neighbouring district; and also that we only think it

necessary to notice here the remains of such creatures as have been brought into immediate contact with our own species.

(1.) Man. (*Homo sapiens.*)—As these have been more carefully deposited than the remains of inferior animals, so they are of less frequent occurrence; but skeletons in whole or in part are occasionally found, not at the site of the ancient burying-ground, but protruding from the black earth.

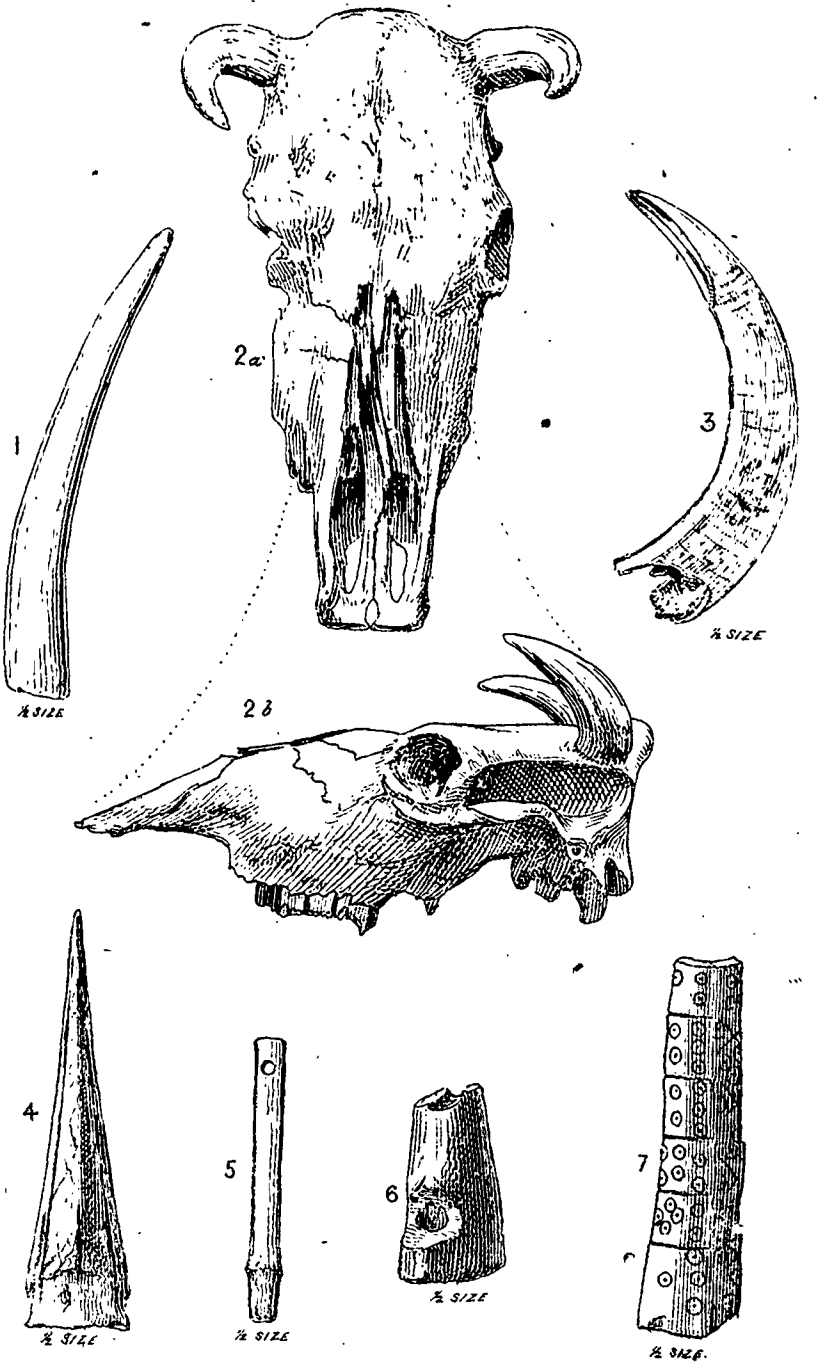
(2.) The Irish Elk. (*Megaceros Hibernicus.*)—I do not know on what authority the remains of this creature have been identified, but I have been told that they were so by Mr. Smith.

(3.) Red Deer. (*Cervus elaphus.*)—This animal was formerly abundant in England, but now exists in small numbers, except in the Highlands of Scotland. It was the principal object of the chase in Ireland in ancient times, but is almost unknown there also. Very fine antlers, dug up in the neighbourhood, are in the possession of General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, of Leasowe Castle.

(4.) Roe Buck. (*Cervus capreolus.*)—This animal is supposed to be of late introduction, if actually introduced from other lands; for from a certain date it became known, and since that time the red deer has diminished in numbers.

(5.) Fallow Deer. (*Cervus dama.*)—This animal is mentioned to allow the opportunity of saying that, so far as I know, its remains have not been met with here.

(6.) (*Bos primigenius.*)—Horns and skulls of this animal exist in the Free Public Museum, and a fine skull of it is in the possession of Sir Edward Cust. One or two others have also been procured at Wallasey. It is supposed by Professor Owen, that the animal was in all probability identified with a race of cattle spoken of by Cæsar, which was not much inferior to the elephant in size, and differed from all domestic cattle by the great strength and expansion of its horns. The following table shows the size of a specimen from the Cheshire shore, as compared with one taken from Owen's *British Fossil Mammals and Birds*, pp. 501, 502.



FOR Dr HUME'S, HOYLAKE ANT. J.E. WORRALL, LITH

ANIMAL REMAINS.

	Skull from Wallasey, in the Liverpool Free Public Museum.		Skull from Athol, in the British Museum.	
	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.
Length of Skull	2	4	3	0
Span between tips of horn cores	2	5	3	6
Curve of horn, Outside	2	4	—	—
„ „ Inside	1	10	—	—
Girth of base of horn cores	1	3	—	—
Breadth of forehead between the horns — Greatest	1	0	0	10½
Breadth of forehead between the horns — Least	0	7		
Length of series of uppper molar teeth	0	7	0	6½
Width between the orbits	0	11½	—	—

(7.) (*Bos longifrons.*)—This animal, like the preceding one, is extinct; but there can be no doubt that it existed within historic times, viz., at the period of the Romans. It is called the Small Fossil Ox, by way of distinction from the *Bos primigenius*, or Great Fossil Ox. The large skull shown on Plate XXXII. belongs to it. Small as the horns are in this specimen, it is supposed that the head is that of a bull; for other specimens found on the shore, and portions of which are in the possession of Mr. Ecroyd Smith, and other gentlemen, are smaller in size. The dimensions of the one on our plate are given in the following table, which also shows for comparison the size of another, probably that of a female; the account of which is taken from Owen, as before.

	Skull from Wallasey, in Liverpool Free Public Museum.		Skull in Hunterian Museum, London, from Irish Bog.	
	Inches.	Lines.	Inches.	Lines.
Length of Skull	20	0	—	—
„ „ from supra-occipital ridge to nasal bones	9	6	8	0
Breadth of Skull between roots of horns	5	6	5	0
„ „ between middle of orbits	7	0	6	9
Circumference of base of horn core	5	4	4	0
Length of horn core, following outward curvature	7	10	4	0
Span of horn cores from tip to tip	9	5	12	0
„ „ at widest expansion	12	0	—	—
Length of series of upper molars	5	5	—	—

(8.) Wild Boar. (*Sus scrofa.*)—The tusks of this animal are abundant near many of the Roman stations; and in the reigns of our early Plantagenet kings it ranged the woods of England in large numbers.

(9.) The Horse. (*Equus caballus.*)—This animal was known to the ancient Britons, as it drew the war-chariots of the monarchs who opposed the invasion of the Romans. From the remains found on the Cheshire shore, near Hilbre island, it has been inferred that the local horse of other days was small, and akin to the modern pony. Various facts lead us to the same inference, as (1) that many of our native breeds were and are still small, as the shelty (Shetland pony), raghery (Rathlin pony), and hobby (ancient Irish horse); (2) that the size of the chariot is that adapted to small animals, *e. g.*, the Roman wheel in Shrewsbury Museum; (3) that the same fact is shown in ancient illustrations on comparing the size of men and horses.

(10.) The Dog. (*Canis familiaris.*)—The remains of this animal are of frequent occurrence.

(11.) The Wolf. (*Canis lupus.*)—The remains are of frequent occurrence, showing that the animal abounded in the Cheshire forests.

(12.) The Sheep. (*Ovis aries.*)—Remains frequent.

(13.) (*Cetacean*), Rib of.—This was found in the excavations of Wallasey Pool, and is described by Mr. Moore.*

(14.) *Birds.*—The bones of these are frequently found, but it is difficult to say whether the animals were used as food by the ancient inhabitants of the seashore, or whether they are the remains of those which were destroyed in the usual way in more recent times. The object, Plate XXXII., fig. 4, appears to be the upper part of the bill of a snipe, and was evidently used as a sort of rude piercer.

* Trans. Hist. Soc., VII., 265.

2.—In the Manufactured State.

Of those which bear traces of the hand of man, the following may be mentioned—

(1.) The little object in ivory, Plate XV., fig. 13, is of course of foreign origin; it is referred to among the pendent objects, page 164.

(2.) The hair-pins or piercers, Plate XXII., figs. 6, 9. These are alluded to, page 225, and both appear to have been parts of the leg-bone of a sheep.

(3.) Fig. 3. A boar's tusk, showing traces of carving by means of cross lines. The tusk of the boar was frequently used for suspension, and was employed with more or less of decoration. One found at Richborough had an ornamental piece of brass attached to it, and it had probably been worn as a trophy of the chase. An engraving of it is given, Antiquities of Richborough, 110, and also Transactions of Historic Society, VII., 227. A similar tusk is seen (fig. *f* in the Leicester objects,) with two holes near the top for suspension, and its sides bevelled or squared throughout. Another has been alluded to under the head of ear-rings, page 251.

(4.) The object shown, fig. 5, appears to have been squared at the lower end, and is cylindrical elsewhere. It bears a very close resemblance to the harp-pins in the Royal Irish Academy, several of which were discovered in a crannoge at Strokestown, one of which is figured in Wilde's Catalogue, page 340.

(5.) Bone Whistle, fig. 6. This is somewhat similar to one which was found among Roman remains at Leicester (fig. *c*, on the woodcut of Leicester objects), except that it is broken off a little below the hole or ventage.

(6.) Fig. 7. This appears to be a portion of a knife-handle, though it is difficult to say what purpose it actually served. No inference can be drawn respecting its age from its style of ornamentation; for the circle and centre ornament was common in almost every age, and is found in almost every country.

(7.) Mr. Smith possesses a hammer ingeniously manufactured out of a deer's horn, but it is not figured here.

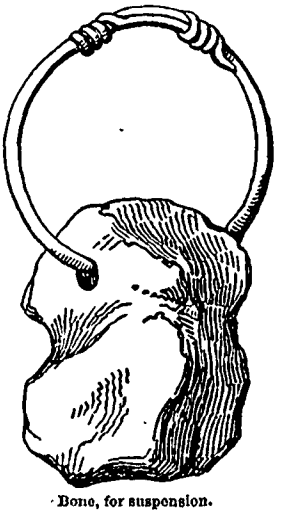
(8.) He also possesses a ring of bone, consisting of a circle roughly sawn off. It has been broken, but exhibits very plainly the original design and rude execution.

(9.) *Leather.*—This has been found not only in connection with the strap-tags treated of at page 116, and specially alluded to page 123, but one or two long straps like bridle-reins have been discovered. They were, however, mixed up with the modern sand and loam, and with some paving-stones, in a place which the country people declare was the remains of a farm-yard. The remains of shoe-soles have also been found apparently very ancient. They possessed strong characteristics of the class which the shoemaker calls "rights and lefts," being very much pointed. That the arrangement by which shoes were adapted to the two feet respectively is no modern innovation, may be seen from a notice in Shakspeare.* A smith is represented as standing—

> With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news;
> Who, with his shears and measure in his hand,
> Stood on his slippers, which his nimble haste
> Had falsely thrust upon contrary-feet.

For the sake of comparison, a few illustrations may be given of animal substances in a manufactured state, which have been found among antiquities in other parts of the country. The adjoining figure represents a piece of horn, seven-eighths of an inch broad, with points of brass-wire at its top and sides. It was found, with numerous other objects, in a grave at Kingston Down in Kent.† The next exhibits a

Horn, with Brass-wire Points.

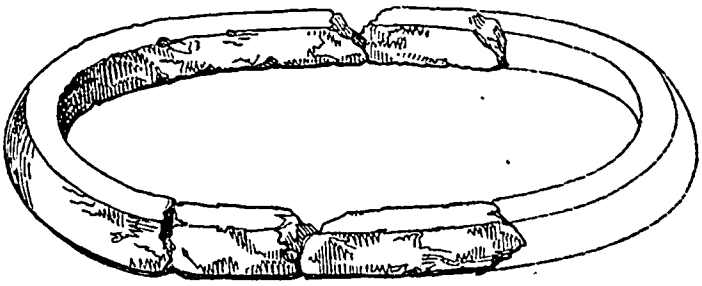


Bone, for suspension.

* King John, iv. 2.

† Inv. Sep., 41.

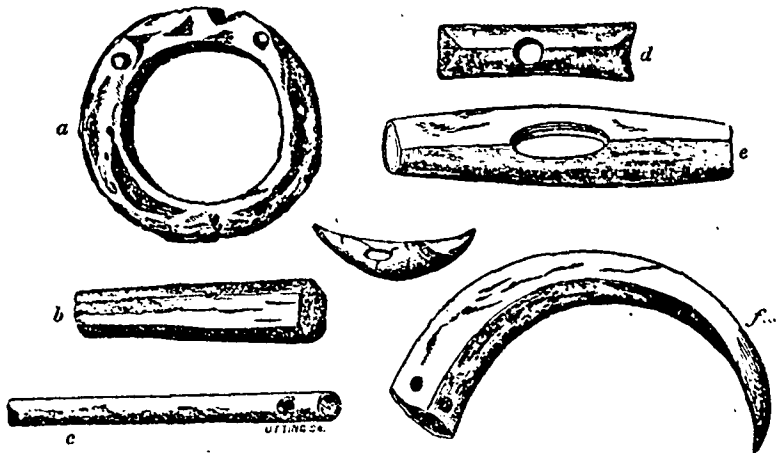
rude piece of bone, the amount of manipulation on which consists in its having a hole drilled in it. Through this, one of the knotted rings, explained elsewhere, of brass, has been passed, and it is prepared for suspension. It was found, with numerous interesting articles, in a woman's grave.* The next object was one of those found along with it. It is of ivory, and



Ivory Armilla.

appears to have been part of an armilla or bracelet.

The group of objects shown here has been alluded to twice



Animal Remains, from Leicester.

already, but deserves a more explicit notice. In the town of Leicester, a Roman well was discovered, with a lining of strong wickerwork to contain the water, and to keep out the surrounding quicksand. It was about fourteen feet below the present surface of the ground, imbedded in the virgin

* Inv. Sep., 68.

soil; and about two feet above were traces of an ancient surface. Upon this lay several articles rudely fashioned out of bone, of which seven are shown here. Fig. (*a*) is a ring pierced with holes, as if for the purpose of attaching it to some part of the dress. Fig. (*b*) is like a modern knife-handle, being hexagonal in form, and evidently squared with some care; but, as the central perforation is large, it must have served some other purpose. Figs. (*d*) and (*e*) are each perforated in the middle, and carefully bevelled and chamfered. The purposes which they served are unknown, but probably they were ornaments only. The central object appears to be a canine tooth, evidently used for suspension.

XXXVIII.—ADDENDA.

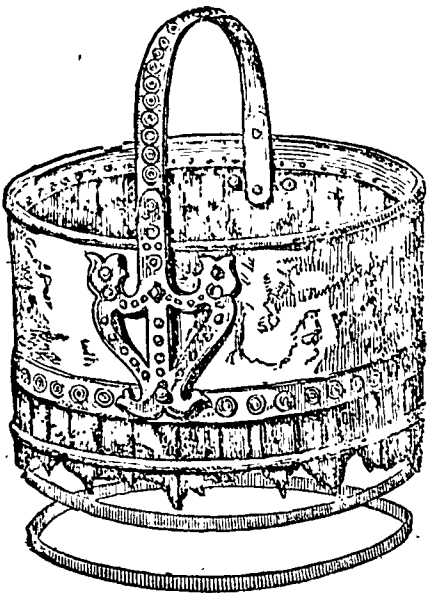
1.—Special Objects.

1. *Anchors.*—About the year 1847, a fisherman brought to light an object which he and his fellows regarded as remarkably curious. It was like a portion of a tree of white sandstone, stuck full of shells, except that two bars crossed it at top and bottom, of the same material. It was nearly the thickness of a man's waist, and of course was very heavy. When brought to the village of Hoylake, it was an object of great curiosity; and many were the guesses made respecting its name and purpose. By some accident, however, it was broken right across, and the fracture discovered a square bar of iron in the centre, with the vast accretion of sand and rust forming a thick coating round it. It was then observed that the longer of the two cross-bars had something like knobs at its extremities; and it was thus at once seen that it was an anchor, entombed in sand which it had itself assisted in indurating into stone. It is now in the possession of the Historic Society, and its measured dimensions are as follows:—

	Feet.	Inches.
Diameter of the incrustation	0	9
Section of iron—side of square	0	1½
Length of stem, about	4	6
Length of head on each side	1	0¾

Two other anchors have since been dredged up in like manner, and are both preserved at Hoylake. It would be dangerous to offer a surmise respecting the age of any of them, for the general form of anchor has been known for a long time; and there is nothing, in either the anchor or the incrustation, to assist us in fixing the date. The cross-bar at the top is of iron, not of wood; and, instead of being straight, forms the arc of a circle, like the head or portion with the flukes.

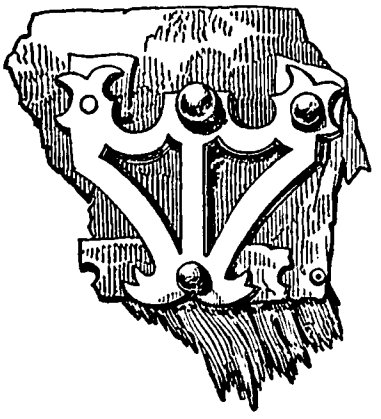
2. *Buckets.*—There is a species of wooden vessel which was well known to our ancestors, for which the modern name, "bucket," seems most appropriate. There is no reason to believe that it was not used for ordinary domestic purposes, in which it possessed great advantage over earthenware vessels. The annexed example from Envermeu, in Normandy, will show their general shape; though, as in the case of implements of the same sort with ourselves, they differed in detail. In this one there is a moveable drop handle ornamented, and the metal portion to which it is hinged on the body of the vessel is also ornamented, both with floreated extremities and indented marks. The broad hoop, which runs round in the middle, is ornamented like the handle; but the bottoms of all the staves are decayed, the hoops merely showing the form which they assumed.



Bucket from Envermeu, Normandy.

In June, 1760, a fragment of a similar object was discovered in one of the Kentish graves by Faussett, which he believed was part of a *scutum* or square shield, the wood-work being

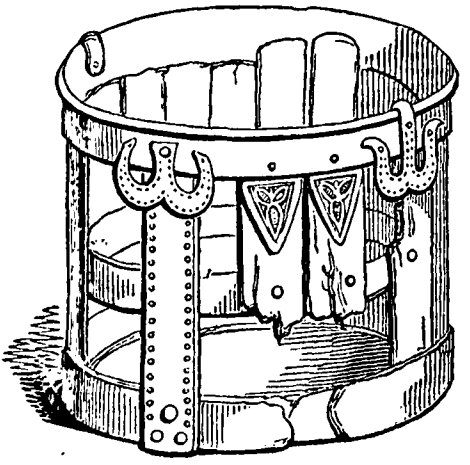
less than half an inch thick. He says that it was "a little concave, in the manner of an half cylinder, inwards, that is, from top to bottom, and was covered all over the outside with a very thin plate of brass." On comparing it, however, with the perfect bucket given, it will be seen that this is a portion of a similar object, and that the metallic ornament which remains, is the lower portion of the ear to which the handle was attached. Of the four studs which originally held it on, three remain, and it is evident that an ornamental hoop ran round under the lowest stud, as in the French specimen.



Fragment of Anglo-Saxon Bucket.

It appears to have been ornamented with small pieces of brass, like a rabbit or hare, with its nose resting on its forepaws, and its hinder-legs bent inwards. One of them is shown here, and, like the fragment of woodwork itself, is on a scale of one-half. Another bucket, in a condition of tolerable completeness, with metallic fastenings and ornaments, and a hook on the inside, is shown from Wilbraham, in Cambridgeshire. Mr. Wright mentions a curious example of hasty conclusion. The metallic rim of a bucket, with triangular ornaments on the top, like those which point downwards on the last cut, and with a handle

Brass Ornament of Bucket.



From Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire.

like that shown on the first, was actually supposed to be a crown, and was engraved in connection with a skull on which it was placed.*

Only one object of this class has been found on the Cheshire coast, and it contained no metal whatever; it was in the form of a pail, narrowing towards the bottom, and about five inches in diameter, midway from top to bottom. It consisted of eight staves, to which the wooden hoops were attached by pegs; each stave was very thin near the bottom, and the lower extremity presented a little ledge or step inwards, about half an inch high, on which the bottom rested. Two opposite ears projected to the extent of two inches and a quarter, each of which presented a shoulder for a wooden lid, and shewed marks of attrition by very long use. It possessed proofs of skill and workmanship, though in some respects it was very unlike similar implements of our own time. The fragments are in my own possession. Mr. Wright suggests that one use of these vessels among our forefathers may have been to carry in the ale and mead, or the wine into the hall, to be served out into the drinking-cups of the family or guests.

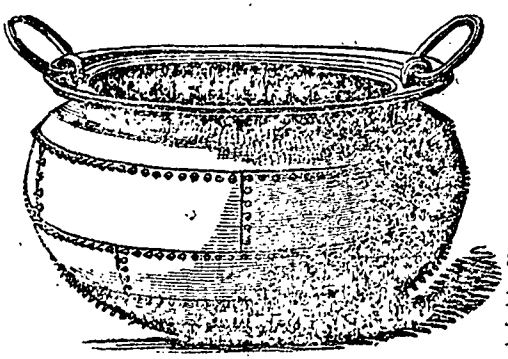
3. *Bronze Bowl.*—Vessels of this kind were also frequently found, having probably been used to contain food upon the table. From the fact that solder is used at the handles, when they possess any, they are ill suited for standing fire, and some are enamelled and otherwise ornamented so as to shew they were never intended for it. The Saxon bowls were mostly quite plain, and formed of thin hammered metal, and some of them, as in one or two of the Faussett collection, have been carefully patched and repaired. One of these Saxon bowls has been found on the Cheshire coast; it is a very interesting specimen, apparently of pure copper, and has been forcibly hammered into its present shape. Its dimensions are as follows:—

* Wright's Essays, I., 153.

Diameter	9½ inches.
Height	2½ „
Lip, turned over horizontally	0⅜ „
Capacity, or Content	3 pints.
Weight	14 ounces.

It has sustained a little injury, apparently by coming in contact with sharp stones, but is, on the whole, in a fair state of preservation. Unlike some of the Kentish examples, it has no stamp impressed upon the bottom, nor any distinguishing mark whatever.

As a contrast to the simplicity of workmanship and form in this one, we may instance one of the beautiful household vessels of ancient Ireland. It is nineteen inches in diameter at top, a foot deep, and sixty-seven inches in girth. It is composed of numerous pieces of thin bronze, each averaging three and a quarter inches broad, but becoming shorter as they approach the bottom. The plates have been hammered, and they are united by rivets about half an inch apart, with beautiful sharp conical heads. Some were designed to be ornamental only, as all of them were to some extent, for they exist in places where there is no junction. In the bottom they are large and plain. The lip, or upper margin, which is two and a half inches broad, is ornamented by a species of corrugation, and the outer edge of it, next the solid hoop, has a double line of perforations. There are solid bronze handles, about the size of *armillæ*, attached to the rim by strong brazen staples.* An interesting account of such vessels, under the head of Bronze Cauldrons, is given by Robert M'Adam, Esq., in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*.†



Bronze Vessel of Riveted Plates.

* Wilde's Catalogue, 529, 530. | † Ulster Journal, V. 82.

2.—The Products of a Single Year.

In the *Reliquary* for July of the present year, there is a short article by Mr. Ecroyd Smith, showing the products of the seashore of Cheshire during a single year—viz., 1862. His enumeration, which I adapt to my own arrangement, will show better than any thing that I could say, the present productiveness of the locality. He adds the following—

"Almost all the older objects of interest are washed *out* of the beach, and, despite the unremitting care of a local collector, no doubt many escape notice through being never wholly freed from the overwhelming sand, which the continued undermining of the bank debouches on the shore. In the course of time these are buried under the growing East Hoyle, and other sandbanks further seaward, where doubtlessly are also entombed innumerable relics of historic and national interest, swept from the mainland long ere the remains attracted attention."

It is well known that, from thirty to forty years ago, remains were to be met with in great numbers; though but few obtained about that time, and for twenty years after, are known to have been preserved.

1. *Arranged Chronologically*:—

Roman.—A brass coin of Carausius; a lyre-shaped fibula; a bronze pin and a bronze buckle, found on Hilbre island.

Norman and Mediæval. (Chiefly tenth to fourteenth century.)—A bronze brooch; three silver pennies of Edward I. or II.; a brass pin; hasps; nine tags; buckle-shanks; fourteen strap ornaments, brass; nine buckles, brass; a broad arrow; three iron knives; five fish-hooks; a scent-box or cofferet; part of a ring-brooch; four portions of leaden brooches; fragment of pewter buckles; a strap-tag, lead; a cubical weight or die, lead; a coffer-handle, lead or pewter; two hasps or fastenings, of lead or pewter; a strap ornament; a bone knife-handle.

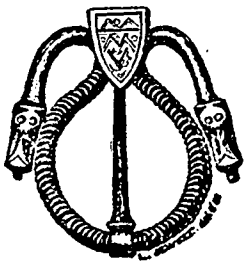
Later English.—A silver coin of Elizabeth or James I.; a tradesman's copper token, 1667; ditto, 1669; lead buckle, part of; coat-link, brass; seven tobacco-pipes, sixteenth century; seven ditto, seventeenth century.

2. *Arranged in the order of our Plates*:—

(1.) *Roman Fibulæ.* (Plates III. and IV.)—One, lyre-shaped, bronze, two inches long. It wants the *acus,* but is in good preservation.

(2.) *Circular Brooches.* (Plate V.)—A fragment of lead or pewter of diced pattern, resembling those upon the leaden *chrismatories* or collars worn by ecclesiastics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Four portions of other brooches, lead or pewter.

(3.) *Buckle Brooches.* (Plate VI.)—One bronze, of peculiar form. It is of Celtic pattern, with serpent-headed terminations recurved along the sides of the brooch. Between them they sustain an armorial shield. Others of this class, but more circular in form, like the Irish types, have been found on former occasions. They are of rare occurrence in England. Several consist of a succession of rings, in imitation of the bodies of snakes.



Serpent-headed Brooch.

(4.) *Buckles with Attachments.* (Plate VII.)—Several of the attachments or shanks have been found separate, and one with the buckle complete. A fragment of leather remains between the plates of the shank.

(5.) *Buckles.* (Plate VIII.)—Eight examples of brass, several retaining the *acus;* portion of a buckle (?), lead or pewter, with flower-shaped pattern; fragment of buckle (modern), pewter.

(6.) *Double Buckles and Hasps.* (Plate IX.)—A bronze double buckle, Roman, one inch long, found at Hilbre island. Two hasps or clasps of lead or pewter, one ornamented.

(7.) *Hasps.* (Plate X.)—Several of these of various types, including three of the rare kind indicated Plate IX., figs. 9, 10, 11, and described page 108.

(8.) *Tags or Strap-ends.* (Plate XI.)—Nine brass, mediæval. One lead or pewter, ditto.

(9.) *Strap Ornaments.* (Plate XII.)—Fourteen lozenge-shaped pieces of brass. One of lead or pewter.

(10.) *Iron Knives.* (Plate XVII.)—Three blades from two to four inches long.

(11.) *Coffer-handles and Mounting.* (Plate XX.)—A handle, of lead or pewter.

(12.) *Implements of War or the Chase.* (Plate XXI.)—A broad arrow, two and a fourth inches long, (see Plate XXI., fig. 6.)

(13.) *Pins, Tweezers, &c.* (Plate XXIII.)—One Roman pin, bronze, with hemispherical head, one inch long. A brass pin, mediæval, with flat circular head, two and a half inches long.

(14.) *Fish-hooks, Bells, &c.* (Plate XXVI.)—Five fish-hooks, iron.

(15.) *Seals, Tokens, and Coins.* (Plate XXVII.)—A scent-box or cofferet, twelfth or thirteenth century, with an inscription like that round the rim of pilgrims' signs, AJCHOSNJ, which has been rendered thus:—A J(esus) CH(ristus) O(mnium) S(alvator) N(azarenus) J(udæorum). It is circular in form, one inch in diameter, and a third of an inch in thickness; the divisions being equal, and joined by hasp and hinge at opposite sides. The faces are similar—an open Saxon cross occupying the centre of each side, the bars of which are separated by a pellet within an amulet.* Roman fibulæ of the circular form occur occasionally, showing a hinge like the hinge in this case, and a fastening like the opposite projection.†

Mediæval Scent-box.

Tradesmen's Tokens.—Two, of copper. The first has on the *Obverse*, THOMAS KNIGHT; a roll of tobacco occupying the field. *Reverse.*—OF CARNARVON, 1667; 1d. in the field. No published account of this token appears to exist, and no notice of it is taken in Mr. Boyne's recent treatise. The other token has on the *Obverse*, CHARLES CHRISTIAN, and a building,

* *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1862, and *Reliquary* for July, 1863.

† Wellbeloved's Eburacum, Plate XVII., figs. 1, 4.

supposed to be Liverpool Castle, in the field; on the *Reverse*, GROCER IN LIVERPOOLE; and in the field, HIS PÉNNY, 1669.

Coins.—A third brass, of Carausius, apparently a rare example. Three silver pennies of Edward I. or II., minted at London. A small silver coin, apparently a threepenny piece of Elizabeth or James I.

(16.) *Miscellaneous Objects in Metal.* (Plates XXVIII., XXIX.)—A cube of lead, like a die; apparently a weight. A coat-link, brass, with rude masonic emblems; probably modern.

(17.) *Pottery and Pipes.* (Plate XXXI.)—Seven tobacco-pipe heads, clay, sixteenth century. The potter's marks are ER, IB, RA. Seven ditto, seventeenth century. Potter's marks, BEN LEGG, ED, IB, IL.

(18.) *Animal Remains.* (Plate XXXII.)—Bone knife-handle, rudely ornamented at the part next the blade—length, two inches.

Thus it appears that, during a single year, so many as ninety objects were recovered by the exercise of a little attention and observation; and there is no doubt that they were much more abundant in former years, before the sea had advanced so far upon the land. Yet, before these private collections began to assume form, it would have been difficult to show ninety objects altogether, though some of these were of great value or beauty. For want of such attention, antiquarian objects in other parts of the country are lost almost as readily as they are found; no information is gained, or materials for philosophy furnished; and that which both sea and land had not merely spared, but even preserved, is wantonly destroyed by the people of our own age, professing to occupy a position of advanced civilization.

PART III.

DEPOSITION OF THE OBJECTS.

I.—FOUR THEORIES.

The inquiry as to how the articles came to occupy the position in which we find them, is the most puzzling of all; for antiquities are usually procured in connection with some limited period of history. But, in the present case, ranging as they do over 1700 years at the least, the difficulty of accounting for them is increased. It is so great that some of our most experienced antiquaries have declined to hazard an opinion; so that perhaps, without any imputation of presumption, one who has less archæological reputation to lose, may be permitted to examine such theories as have been proposed. Indeed it is absolutely necessary to do so; and without such inquiry our investigations would be incomplete.

Four solutions have been attempted; respecting the first two of which only a few words will be necessary. The whole of the theories may be briefly stated as follows:—1st, Shipwreck; 2nd, Fluvial Deposit; 3rd, Aquatic Habitations; and 4th, Destruction of an Ancient Settlement.

1.—Shipwreck.

It has been suggested as a hypothesis or guess, but without any pretensions to the dignity of a theory, or a satisfactory explanation, that in some of the numerous wrecks which have taken place upon this coast, a collection of antiquities has been lost; and such facts are adduced as the finding of guineas of the reign of Charles II., which were evidently deposited by the rupture of a treasure-chest at one time.* There have

* Found 23rd September, 1834.—Transactions of the Historic Society, I., 104.

also been several wrecks of importance, one of which was that of a ship, about 1820, portions of the material and cargo of which were occasionally found until within the last few years.

In reply to this it is only necessary to state, that museums of British antiquities are of modern growth; that modern Archæology is not yet a quarter of a century old; and that the idea of a vessel being laden with any such collection is a gratuitous assumption, wholly unwarranted by the analogies of experience or the records of fact.

But let us suppose that such things have been known; and that ships, with museums on board, have been as common as those conveying gold from Australia or California. It is still necessary to explain how certain classes of these objects—the Roman ones, for example—are found at a particular spot, and the more modern articles in totally different places. It will be necessary still further to show, why they are not cast out in the neighbourhood of deep water, but in that which is left dry by the receding tide; as well as how they are found buried at various depths, in that which was recently arable ground and not properly belonging to the sea. From the position in which they are found, such a wreck must have taken place not only within recent historic times, but almost in our own day; that is to say, since this foreshore was undermined and had sunk beneath high-water mark—the date of which occurrence we happen to know. It will be necessary, in like manner, to account in some other way for the records of history and geography, which show that the mediæval highway round the peninsula was to seaward of the present shore line; and why thousands of objects, cast out together, are found singly, or perhaps two at a time.

Is not necessary, however, to adduce arguments in disproof of a hypothesis which has not a single fact to support it, and which scarcely ranges itself even within the category of possibilities.

2.—Fluvial Deposit.

On the surface of John Mackay's map of 1732, he indicates the following as one consequence of making the new cut, viz.—

"That ye land and soyle in ye cutt is no less than six millions of solid yards, ye greatest part thereof is supposed to be scoured as fast as possible towards Hoyl Lake and ye Barr."

Reasoning from these principles, it has been suggested that these objects of antiquity were originally connected with Chester; and that they were carried down the Dee by the force of the refluent tide, and deposited in still water. The propounder of this hypothesis seems to forget the distinction between sand and mud, on the one hand, which are held in suspension by the water, and metallic objects, on the other, which would sink at once and become imbedded in the yielding bottom. It is true that the tidal scour has been very great, and that, as an evidence of the force of the river, the Hoyle bank has been literally cut in two. Not less than about 150 millions of cubic yards of sand have been removed; a mass which one may say popularly is infinitely larger than all these objects united. But let us suppose that these metallic objects were capable of floating, and of obeying the influences which loosened, removed, and re-deposited the sand—the hypothesis is still untenable. For, the sand has been deposited within the ancient Hoyle lake, where none of these objects are procured; and on the sheltered sides of some of the numerous banks, a position in which none of them are known to exist. On the contrary, they are found where the tidal action possesses great force from the sea: where sand has not been borne in suspension and deposited; and in a position where some of them might have been uncovered by high water, but could never have been left by an ebb tide. In short, the sea did not place the objects there, but it *displaced* them; Neptune did not hide them, but he assists at their *finding*, by disintegrating the turf bog in which hundreds more probably lie buried, and washing them out, like the nuggets of

the gold-digger, from the surrounding particles of earth. This supposition, therefore, is more than untenable, it is absurd.

3.—Aquatic Habitations.

This theory supposes that in the unsettled condition of several of the earlier ages, the huts of the inhabitants were erected over the water, and at some distance from the land; there was thus a tidal moat interposed between them and enemies from the land, while attack from the sea was less probable. To a modified extent, as we shall see, this supposition may be correct, but in general it is erroneous. It is, however, associated with modern facts of such deep interest, that the whole of the next chapter is devoted to its discussion.

4.—Destruction of an Ancient Settlement.

Every circumstance tends to show that this is the correct explanation of the facts. The reader will have anticipated this inference from the previous chapters, especially those of Part I.; yet it is desirable to treat of the subject specifically. Accordingly, in two chapters (III. and IV.), cases more or less analogous are discussed; and particular attention is drawn to one case which presents numerous points of strong resemblance.

II.—AQUATIC HABITATIONS.

A few years ago, one would have been surprised to hear such a subject mentioned, yet at the present day we begin to wonder in what countries these habitations have not existed. Their remains are found abundant in Ireland, and not unfrequently in Scotland.* They were also known in Syria, in a lake

* The lakes of Banchory, in Kincardineshire, may be mentioned, and St. Margaret's isle, in the lake of Forfar. The crannoges of Cluny, in Perthshire, and of Clyne, in Sutherland, were of the same kind; and those of North Uist, Loch Lochoy, and Loch Lomond. The lake of Yetholm, in the south of Scotland, which furnished the idea of the Castle of Avenel, had a jetty between the island and mainland; and the practice is noticeable at a few other places. At the recent meeting of the British Association, a paper was read by Lord Lovaine, to show that lacustrine habitations had recently been discovered in Wigtonshire.

formed by the expansion of the Orontes;* and in portions of Polynesia they exist at present. Something analogous is found in the fishermen's huts of the Bosphorus, nestling among the tops of piles which are fastened in the bottom; and in the numerous boat-houses of the Chinese rivers. I will notice them very briefly in connection with the two countries where they are best known—viz., Ireland and Switzerland. With much that is very unlike, these countries always possessed two features in common—viz., (1) they were isolated, the one by its western situation, and the other by lofty mountain barriers; and (2) each abounded in lakes. In Ireland many of these have been drained, though a large number still exist; in Switzerland they still remain, with such natural alterations as time has produced.

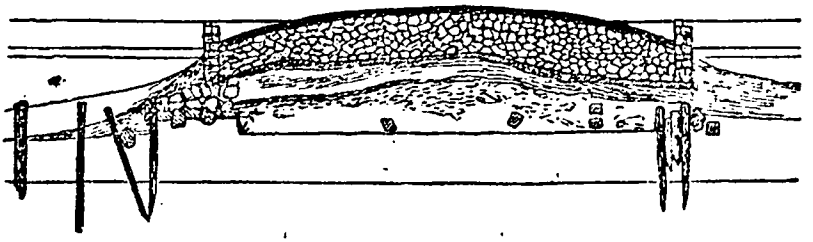
1.—Crannoges of Ireland.

These were lake fortresses constructed on artificial islands, for greater security during troublous times. In the annals of Ireland they are noticed at least a thousand years ago, and records respecting them continued till nearly the year 1700. Not unfrequently the crannoge was erected on a hill within the lake, thus taking for its basis a subaqueous mound not quite high enough to be called an island. Around the sides of this, strong oak piles were driven in a circle of about two hundred feet circumference. These piles, the lower parts of which still bear the marks of the axe, projected above the water, and were probably interlaced with branches of trees. The surface within was usually covered over with a series of short logs, on the top of which stones, clay, and other earthy matters were placed. Large flat stones were deposited in the centre, as the hearth on which the fire was erected; and sometimes two or three such places are shown to have existed. There are usually one or two pairs of quernstones found, and numerous bones of black

* Usurpatur vulgo "lacus Christianorum," quia incolitur a piscatoribus Christianis, qui in laco isto boreali in tabernis ligno compactis super sublicis degunt.—*Troyon, qu Abulfeda's Supp. Tabulæ Siriæ*, 14th cent.

cattle, deer, and swine. Thus, we see something of the dietary of these secluded people.

The engineers of the Board of Works in Ireland, who, principally by drainage operations, had uncovered many of these, presented a report giving a minute account of their general construction. An idea of this may be obtained from the adjoining woodcut, reduced from one of the sections fur-



Ardakillin Crannoge, Roscommon.

nished by these gentlemen. It represents the crannoge in Ardakillin Lough, near Strokestown, Roscommon, which is constructed with both stones and oak piling. This one is oval in shape, and exhibits the internal arrangement of materials. The top line shows the highest winter level of former times; the second that of the ordinary winter flood; and the third the ordinary summer level. There was an enclosing wall, supported partly by piling, the remains of which are shown here in the strata of clay and peat. Within this wall, the upper layer consisted of a thick bed of loose stones, taking generally the convex shape of the original mound.

In general, communication was held with these by means of a boat, though a very few were approached by moles or narrow causeways. Canoes of rude construction are disinterred from time to time, of the sort which the people are supposed to have generally employed. It is supposed that bridges were utterly unknown.

Numerous interesting details, respecting these structures, may be found in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. VII., in Dr. Wilde's *Catalogue*, in the *Ulster Journal of*

Archæology, Vols. VII. and VIII., and in Troyon's *Habitations Lacustres*. Some of the most interesting finds of antiquities, within the last twenty years, have come to light in connection with these crannoges; until they are now regarded as the best and the only remaining storehouses of such objects. During many generations, small household and personal objects dropped into the water, and, though lost to the individuals, they sunk into the bottom, and were preserved to be brought to light in our own day.

A few extracts, from documents connected with Irish history, will show the manner in which these structures are alluded to :—

A.D. 848. Cinaedh "plundered the island of Loch Gabhor, and afterwards burnt it so that it was levelled with the ground." *

A.D. 1247. Miles MacCostello "took the cranog of Clayonlough, and left a garrison there of his own men." . . . The sons of Hugh O'Connor united with another person to expel him, and "they took the crannog on the lake." †

A.D. 1455. Turlough Macguire having gone to Loch Melgé, "took and plundered the cranoge of MacClancy." †

A.D. 1477. "A great wind happened on the night of the festival of St. John the Baptist, in this year, which destroyed an immense deal of stone and wooden buildings, of cranoges, and corn-stacks." †

A.D. 1500. Hugh Roe O'Donnell marched into Dungannon with a force, "demolished the old castle, and burned the crannoges of Lough Leary." †

A.D. 1574. Among the principal places for stationing English colonists or "gentlemen adventurers" in the county of Antrim, were enumerated "James MacHenry's cronnock, called Ynyshe Lockan, reserved to keep that ford in the Banne;" and "Brian Caroghe's cronnock upon the Bann, reserved for footmen to keep that ford of the Bann." ‡

A.D. 1586. "You shall do verie well to see his" (O'Neill's) "lodgings in the fen, where he built his lodging, and kept his cattell and all his men." §

"These cronnocks were the curious wattle houses (crannog) con-

* Extract from Annals of The Four Masters, in Wilde's Catalogue, p. 230.

† Annals of the Four Masters, by Connellan and MacDermott. 1846.

‡ Ulster Journal, IX., 251.

§ Bagenal's Description of Ulster. Ulster Journal, II., 142.

structed on wooden piles, forming as artificial islands, the peculiar strongholds of the northern natives."* In their inaccessible character they were directly opposed to what Lord Essex intended to build, viz., a trading town, Belfast.

2.—LACUSTRINE HABITATIONS OF SWITZERLAND.

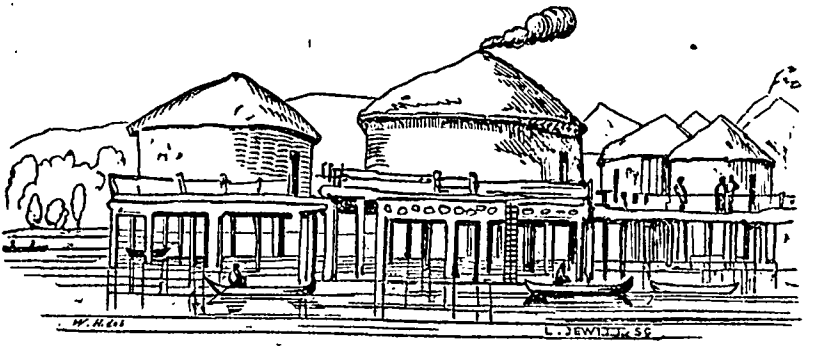
In the beginning of the year 1854, the water in several of the Swiss lakes was unusually low, so that the neighbouring proprietors at Meilen, on Lake Zurich, endeavoured to reclaim portions of land from the lake. They discovered that, at a certain depth in the mud, there were the remains of numerous wooden piles; and that among these were a very large number of implements in stone and flint, some of them mounted in stag's horn. Some time after, another set of piles was discovered at Mooseedorf lake, in Berne; but in this case the piles projected a little above the mud. In this case, also, the area of the artificial structure was seen, and it was about seventy-five feet long and fifty wide. The objects discovered were of the same kind; portions of pottery, and numerous implements in bone, flint, and stone.

In the lake of Neufchatel, there is a place where the land has gained and is gaining on the lake, and a bluff or hill appears at the extremity of a dead level, more than a mile direct from the side of the lake. The intervening land has been gained inch by inch, and it is evident that the base of the hill, which appears like an island on the grassy level, has at some remote period been washed by the lake. About midway between the hill and the lake, the remains of a Roman city are found; and, digging in the wet mud at the base of the hill, other sets of piles are found. Thus there is *primâ facie* evidence that the habitations erected on piles are about twice as old as the Roman occupation.

The houses of these people were built over lakes by piles driven into the bottom, where it slopes gradually into the water; and on the tops of these a flooring was laid, on which

*Herbert F. Hore, Esq., in Ulster Journal, IX., 251.

wicker cabins or huts were erected. In some places where piles are found, the water is twenty feet deep; it is clear therefore, that the piles, making allowance for tops and points, must have been thirty feet long. The appearances which these singular habitations presented would be something like that shown in the annexed cut.



Lacustrine Village, from the Water.

It need not be surprising that several of the modern Swiss towns are found to be erected on alluvial deposit, and actually over the sites of these piled residences.

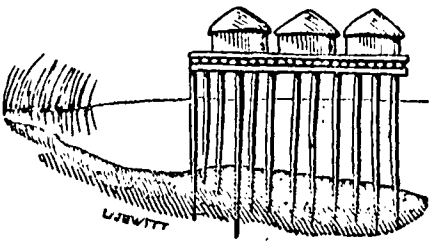
In other instances, where large portions of the piles remain in the water, implements of bronze have been found, evidently showing a more recent occupation, and at the same time an advance in the arts. The theory of Mr. Thomsen of Copenhagen, is thus confirmed—viz., that the period of stone and bone preceded that of metal, and that the bronze period preceded that of iron. There is also unquestionable evidence, derivable from the proportions in which certain materials are found, that some places exhibit a transition state between the first and the second, and others a transition state between the second and the third.

The manner in which these important conclusions have been reached, may be seen from the following mode of induction :—

The stone of which implements are made is commonly native, but a kind of flint is largely used which is not found nearer than France or Germany. The people, therefore, had some slight traffic with these

neighbouring parts. They comprise knife-blades, arrow and lance heads, saws, hammers, borers, needles, above all, hatchets and axes, of most various size and shape, and prepared to be fitted to handles by sundry ingenious devices. Now, where these alone are found, the conclusion is that the village belonged to a people unacquainted with the use of metals; that they were of what is now familiarly denominated "the age of stone." But here and there, amongst the multitude of stone and bone objects, there is some fragment of an implement of metal, or an ornament of coral or amber. *Ergo*, the inhabitants had *some* traffic with distant parts.*

A section, or side view, would shew the huts and piles arranged as we see them here.



Section of Lacustrine Village.

The size of a village, or the extent of the platform, is ascertained by the number of piles, or the area over which they range. From the degree of concavity exhibited by the wicker-work and casing which remain, we ascertain the size of the circle which formed an ordinary hut; and from the area of the village and the size of the hut so determined, an inference is easily drawn as to the number of population who inhabited it. In the stations which remain of the bronze period, and indeed of each period, the piles are found in very different conditions. The points which remain in the mud are best preserved, but sometimes fifteen or twenty feet of water cover the tops of the highest projecting parts, yet hardly two shew the same degree of decay or corrosion. This is perhaps partly owing to an unequal action of the water, and partly to an unequal power of resisting it. The appearance exhibited by certain piles of the bronze period is shewn here.

Remains of Piles of the Bronze Period.

* Edinburgh Review, for July, 1862, page 162.

The manner in which the size and shape of the houses are determined is something like the following :—

A double range of stakes is often found in a straight line from the mass of stakes to the shore. This denotes the bridge which connected the settlement with the mainland. Scattered on the silt, among the stakes, or close to them, lie fragments of wooden beams, roughly squared. These must have been part of the platform, raised on the stakes which supported the houses. They are, in many cases, partially charred by fire. The village was, therefore, destroyed by fire. Buried in the silt, by their side, are quantities of wattles, twisted into such shapes as to form part of a concave frame work; together with bits of clay casing, similarly concave. These were portions of the walls, with their lining, of the circular huts which we must conceive perched on the platforms. Among these lie lumps of matted foliage and moss, huge stags' horns, and other miscellaneous articles. These probably formed part of the rude furniture of the cabins.*

Not unfrequently the remains of an older deposit are found directly underlying those of a modern one; and the inference is, that the habitations were occupied, in a more civilized condition, by the descendants or the conquerors of those who had occupied them in a less civilized condition. It is not improbable that many of the older remains may yet be recovered, either apart or lying under implements of iron and of bronze.

These remarks will afford a specimen of the facts which have come to light, and of the mode in which they have been compelled to tell their story. They are intended to be merely suggestive, however, and to induce readers to turn to other works in which they will find full information. These relics, and the mode in which they were discovered, have shed a new light on archæology, and have shewn how, in this department of knowledge as in others, philosophic inquiry can put speech into the most unpromising materials, and induce them to read us new lessons in history, ethnology, and science.†

The following objects have been found in the lake habitations

* Edinburgh Review, for July, 1862, pp. 161, 162.

† Troyon's Habitations Lacustres; Ulster Journal of Archæology, Vols. VII. and VIII.; and Edinburgh Review, No. 235.

of Switzerland. They are arranged like two similar series, in the order of our Plates, to show the reader the degree of correspondence.

(1.) *Fibulæ.* (Plate IV.)—One of brass wire, wanting *acus;* one apparently iron wire ; and bronze fibulæ, various.

(2.) *Hasps.* (Plate IX.)—One of bronze ; see p. 110.

(3.) *Strap Ornaments.* (Plate XII.)—Bronze, various, curiously stamped ; see p. 131.

(4.) *Bosses and Studs.* (Plate XIII.)—Button of bronze ; bronze studs, various ; bronze button of modern shape, with eye ; bronze shield plate ; gold hemispherical stud, engraved.

(5.) *Spindle-Whorls.* (Plate XIV.)—Stone discs like quoits ; and stone spindle-whorls. Some have a groove running round the edge like a pulley ; and the same construction is shown in the broken bead, Plate XV., fig. 7.

(6.) *Beads.* (Plate XV.)—Beads of bronze and glass, bone and horn ; animal's teeth, &c., strung to form similar pendent ornaments.

(7.) *Horse Furniture.* (Plate XVI.)—Iron bridle-bits.

(8.) *Knives.* (Plate XVII.)—Knives of bronze and iron, the former numerous, and occasionally very beautiful ; a curved semi-circular knife of bronze, like that used by British Druids for cutting the mistletoe ; and a bone knife.

(9.) *Iron Keys.* (Plate XVIII.)—A crooked key like that on XIX. A., fig. 4.

(10.) *Arrows, &c.* (Plate XXI.)—Bone arrow-heads ; flint ditto ; flint knives.

Spears. (Plate XXI.)—Spear-heads, bronze and iron ; iron fish-spear or trident, with a fluke at each point. Barbed spear of stag's horn.

(11.) *Needles.* (Plate XXII.)—Bronze needles, various ; bone ditto ; see pp. 215, 216, 217.

Piercers. (Plate XXII.)—Piercers of copper and bronze, round and square ; bronze hair-pins ; bodkins of bone, numerous.

(12.) *Pins.* (Plate XXIII.)—Pins of bronze, some of them with richly ornamented heads, others plain, ditto bone.

Tweezers. (Plate XXIII.)—Tweezers, iron.

(13.) *Rings, various.* (Plate XXIV.)—Small rings, bronze ; finger-rings, bone.

Bronze bracelets ; ditto, very curious ; fragment of bone bracelet.

Bronze ferrule.

Bronze girdle.

(14.) *Ear-rings.* (Plate XXV.)—Bronze, plain (see woodcut p. 249); Ditto, very curious.

(15.) *Fish-hooks.* (Plate XXVI.)—Bronze, in great variety, single and double, large and small.

Scissors. (Plate XXVI.)—Iron, of the usual type.

(16.) *Musket-rest.* (Plate XXIX.)—Iron fork, resembling; see p. 182.

Swords. (Plate XXIX.)—Bronze, various; some leaf-shaped, with elegant hilts of the same material, and some for attachment to wooden handles.

Daggers. (Plate XXIX.)—Bronze daggers; daggers of bone, made of the shank-bone, cleft, then cut and shaped like a stiletto, seven to thirteen inches long. One has a hilt of stag's horn.

Chatellaines. (Plate XXIX.)—Bronze girdle-hangers, and chatellaine pieces, various.

Collar. (Plate XXIX.)—Bronze gorgets in great variety.

(17.) *Stone Implements.* (Plate XXX.)—Flint scrapers and a saw; flint flakes, some hafted like knives; flint arrow points. Stone mallets, often broken at the hole, which had been bored with an instrument in form of a truncated cone; a cube of stone, like a weight or hammer; chisels for engraving, like the greenstone one from New Zealand (see p. 208 *n*); whetstones, grindstones; anvil; cups or bowls apparently turned out of each other by a hard point, like wooden dishes; almond-shaped celts; disc-shaped stones, like those placed between axles of quernstones; and numerous fragments showing the process of manufacture.

Wood Implements. (Plate XXX.)—Canoes, each formed out of a single trunk of oak, with an elevated portion at each end for a seat. These are still left in the water, as they would be destroyed by drying and shrinking.

(18.) *Pottery.* (Plate XXI.)—Rude pottery, various; elegant pottery also. There are holes at opposite sides of the top in some, apparently for suspending them over the fire, instead of placing them on a trivet.

Rings of pottery for sustaining vessels with rounded or conical bottoms.

(19.) *Animal Remains.* (Plate XXXII.)—[Unmanufactured.]—Bones of the ox, goat, sheep, pig, and dog, are numerous; but those of the horse very rare. Bones of fishes and of the beasts of chase also occur.

[Manufactured.]—These are very numerous, and several kinds have been mentioned under the previous heads. To these may be added teeth set as chisels, in stag's horn, and some used as polishers; hammers of stag's horn, like that found in Cheshire; chisels of bone and stag's horn, for soft materials (like our bone, ivory, and wood paper-knives), a piece of stag's horn, with a point of flint, like the point of a nail (apparently an engraver), and numerous objects, the uses of which are undetermined.

The theory which we are considering supposes the habitations on the sea-coast of Cheshire to have been formed in the same way; but it must not be forgotten that it applies only to inland lakes, and not to maritime situations. These erections are also in sheltered situations, for basins of water are surrounded by hills more or less elevated; whereas such habitations on the seashore would be exposed to the fury of the two elements, wind and water, besides the treachery of the land; and neither they nor even their subaqueous foundations could survive a very few of our usual winter storms. Thus, the theory is set aside, as not coming within the usual conditions, and as being practically impossible. Nor has there been the slightest evidence afforded, in any of the relics which have come to light, of either stakes, or platform, or wicker-work, or clay casing; or of successive grades of civilization, or of the retreat of vanquished tribes, and the entrance of victorious ones. In short, so far as the Cheshire shore is concerned, it is a gratuitous assumption.

But it should be borne in mind that similar relics, in large numbers, were discovered on the Hoyle Bank;* and that if we regard this fact as beyond dispute, it becomes the basis of several future inferences. The remarks respecting exposure apply as before; but the conditions of safety from the enemies chiefly to be dreaded—the human race—are wholly different. At the earliest period to which our antiquities belong, the Hoyle Bank was not only one, but elevated. I have never been

* See p. 48.

able to see the map which is alleged to exist in Mostyn Hall, Flintshire, which represents cattle as grazing on it; but, as it was never wholly covered in the seventeenth century except at spring tides, one can suppose that some portion of it was insular—viz., the elevated end next Meols. There would be no access to the inhabitants except by a canoe or boat; and their only enemies would be those possessing similar accommodation. In such a case, a few stockades may or may not have been erected, to provide against a sudden assault.

I do not attach much importance to this explanation, because, after all, it is possible that no antiquities were ever actually found on the Hoyle Bank. In the indefinite descriptions of persons who are not minutely acquainted with the locality, a known spot is assigned rather than an unknown one; or the expression "near," in the course of transmission, glides into "at" or "on." But even the very suggestion of such a set of facts is not without interest; for it has directed our attention to a curious and important class of facts.

III.—DESTRUCTION OF ANCIENT SETTLEMENTS.

THE following specimens, which are not selected as being in every respect the most remarkable, and which might be largely increased in number, will serve to show the changes which time makes even in some of our large towns. A few inland specimens are selected, and a few maritime ones, in both of which it seems as if a certain amount of fashion had prevailed. When a place obtains the reputation of increasing rapidly it becomes popularised, and mankind are anxious to share in its alleged prosperity. But when, on the contrary, it is said to be "going down,"* suspicion is excited, and even

* I once passed through a deserted town in the twilight of a summer evening. It was Stratford-on-Slaney, in the county of Wicklow, which was built about thirty years ago by a former Earl of Aldborough. At that time there were extensive calico printing-works established in the neighbourhood, and it was thought that it might become a manufacturing

those who felt sufficiently comfortable, become inclined to retire from it.

1.—Inland Towns.

(1.) *Uriconium.*—This was an ancient city on the borders of Wales; and it was a Roman station of no small importance so early as the second century. In the fifth century it was one of the largest towns in the island. It suffered, however, from the incursions of the barbarians about the period of the arrival of the Saxons, and before they had reached this westerly point. It is supposed that it was utterly destroyed, and its inhabitants put to the sword, about the year 450; and so completely was it obliterated that its identity with the modern Wroxeter was not suspected. Nothing remained but a portion of an old wall above ground, and the place had assumed the name of "Old Walls." It has been disinterred since 1859, and has attracted great attention, not only from archæologists but from the public generally. Of course, however, only a small portion has been shown, of a town which was three miles in circumference.

(2.) *Old Sarum.*—Like the town of Dunwich, shortly to be noticed, this place was inhabited in succession by Britons, Romans, and Saxons; and, at the period of the Heptarchy, it was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Wessex. During the early part of our English history it was one of the most important towns in the kingdom, having been fortified by order of King Alfred, and wittenagemotes having been held within it. It shared, however, in the misfortunes of the period, having been devastated by the Danes under Sweyn, in 1003. After the Conquest it became the seat of the bishopric, because it was a fortified city; and in 1086, on the completion of the Domesday Survey, the various grades of nobility were summoned there to meet the king. It is unnecessary to give more

town. It contained, at one time, nearly a thousand inhabitants, and about nine hundred from the town and the adjoining neighbourhood were employed in the works. In 1852 there were but a few of the cottages occupied, and I noticed a light in only one. The majority had begun to show marked symptoms of decay.

than an outline of its history. Owing to a scarcity of water, and frequent disputes between the civil and military authorities, the see was removed to Salisbury in 1217, and from this period we may date its decline and fall. A few houses remained to the time of Henry VIII., and service was performed in the chapel of the deserted cathedral, but now nothing remains. From the 34th Edward III., till the passing of the Reform bill, it sent two members to parliament, and the six or seven burgesses, to whom alone the franchise belonged, conducted the election under the branches of a spreading-tree.

(3.) *Roxburgh.*—This was, at one time, the fourth city in all Scotland, in population and importance. It was a borough, with the usual adjuncts of provost, bailies, and town-council. It had several churches and hospitals, and was particularly celebrated for its schools and its flourishing markets. It had also a large castle for the protection of the town and neighbourhood, and at its market-cross proclamations were made so recently as 1516.

It was found, however, that both English and Scotch feared that the castle might afford protection to their opponents, and thus it attracted the very dangers which it was intended to avert, until population gradually withdrew from an uncomfortable neighbourhood and sought situations of less pretension but of more security. Its present history may be written in a few sentences.

"Of the town not a stone remains to mark its site, and were it not for the evidence derived from history, charters, and other documents, it might well be doubted whether on the fields in which cattle now graze, or which are carefully tilled by the husbandman, a powerful city once flourished. A small portion of the ruins of the castle remains to mark the place where, in former days, kings held their courts, and where the nobles of either kingdom performed deeds of valour in the battle-field, or called forth the admiration of the spectator in the tournament. . . . Doubts are entertained by many as to the exact site of the town."*

* Jeffrey's History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire.

2.—Maritime Towns.

(1.) *Ravenspur.*—Our English histories record that, more than four hundred and sixty-four years ago, the future Henry IV. of England landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. We look in vain for such a place on any modern map, but we learn from historians and geologists that the sea has washed away a large portion of the coast in that neighbourhood, amounting, as some suppose, to several miles, since the time of the Romans. The promontory of Spurn Head still remains, indicating the locality, and the nearest village to it is that of Kilnsea, which is even now gradually disappearing. Its old churchyard has been nearly removed, and its parish church of St. Helen, which was deserted some years ago, has fallen into ruins.

(2.) *Formby.*—It is said that, in 1745, some of the military who occupied South Lancashire during the invasion of the Pretender, were quartered in the ancient village of Formby. This place, which has been already alluded to, page 17 *n*, is distant about nine miles from Liverpool, on the north shore. In 1787 only one cottage remained on the borders of the ancient graveyard, and the old man who occupied it said that his father's house originally stood almost in the centre of the town. The desertion of the place had, therefore, occurred during the life of one man. He stated that in his boyhood he had often jumped down from the pier to the decks of vessels which lay below, receiving or discharging their cargoes. The present condition is, that the village, with its church and churchyard, are situated nearly a mile and a half inland; that mountains of drift sand, held together of late years by star-grass planted upon them, cover the site of the village, enclosing the ancient graveyard like a lake embosomed among hills. It is several feet below the ordinary surface of the ground, and is only kept clear by great exertions. Though numerous trunks of large trees are found under high-water mark, as on the Cheshire coast, scarcely a shrub flourishes now in the vicinity of the sand; and, as memorials of the former town, the sandy

lanes, in which it is extremely difficult to walk, are called by the names of streets, as Church street, Duke street, &c. Vessels of every size shun the coast, both on account of its dangers and its desolation. The township of Ravens Meols is mentioned in the Domesday Survey,* but a large portion of it has been thus obliterated. The name, however, is still preserved, and a little church was erected for the benefit of the farmers and cottagers near the shore, about four years ago.

(3.) *Dunwich.*—The case of this town is so important, and its circumstances resemble so closely those of Meols in Cheshire, that it has been thought desirable to treat the subject in some detail. It is, therefore, separately referred to in the following chapter.

IV.—DUNWICH.

1.—Its History.

This town is situated in the county of Suffolk, on the margin of the German Ocean. It is supposed to have been an ancient British settlement, and in all probability it was actually so; while the objects of Roman manufacture and use found there, leave no doubt as to its occupation by that people also.

During the time of the Heptarchy it was the capital of the kingdom of East Anglia, and became the seat of a bishop,† A.D. 630. It remained as such for more than 450 years, when the see was finally transferred to Norwich.‡

* Three thanes held *Fornebei* for iii manors. There are four carucates of land. It was worth x shillings. . Wibert held *Erenger Meles.* There are ii carucates of land. It was worth viii shillings. This land was quit (of every tax) except the gelt.

† Bede, chap. xvi.; and Flor. Wigiorn, A.D. 636.

‡ After about half a century the see was divided into Elmham and Dunwich, which were reunited about the middle of the tenth century; and in the year 1094 the united diocese took the name of Norwich. Bishop Alfhun (*Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 697) and others were buried here. There is a list of the bishops given in the appendix to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, from which it appears that there were three bishops of East Anglia, eleven of Dunwich only, and eighteen of Elmham and Dunwich united. The

During the incursions of the Danes it bore a part in the sufferings of the eastern coast, having been devastated by them; but after the Conquest, in the time of the Domesday Survey, it contained 236 burgesses, 100 poor, and had a herring fishery yielding annually more than 60,000 fish. In the time of Richard I., a fine levied on it for selling corn to the king's enemies was more than five times as great as the fines levied on Ipswich and Yarmouth respectively, which had committed the same offence. In the time of Edward I., when it was erected into a parliamentary borough, it was a flourishing seaport, and furnished eleven ships of war.

It is recorded that at one time there were upwards of fifty religious foundations in the city, including churches, chapels, priories, hospitals, &c. Of its numerous parish churches not one now remains. In Sir Henry Spelman's * time the foundations of several of the churches and outlines of the churchyards were still visible, viz., those of St. Michael, St. Mary, St. Martin, St. John, St. Peter, and St. Nicholas. The church of All Saints remained longest, but is now a roofless building, and its churchyard will soon be swept away piecemeal by the sea. It was rebuilt at some distance inland in 1826. In the time of Camden, the borough was regarded as ruinous; for he says:—

> Now, by a private pique of Nature (which hath set no bounds to the incursions of the Sea), the greatest part of it is swept away by the violence of the waves . . . and it lyes now in solitude and desolation.

Its present condition may be stated thus. Its existence as a parliamentary borough, which it had maintained from the time of Edward I., was terminated by the Reform bill; and its mayor and corporation, whose special privileges date back to the time of king John, have also passed away. Of its moat

chronicler seems not to be aware of the reason for the removal of the see, for he says—"Perierunt jamdudum episcopatus Rhipensis (Ripon), et Haugustaldensis (Hexham), vi hostilitatis; Legacestrensis (Chester), et Sidnacestrensis (Gainsborough or Stow), et Dommocensis (Dunwich) nescio quo modo."

* Gibson's Camden, 380.

and square earthen fortifications scarcely any traces remain; and the metropolis of an ancient kingdom is now a village with about 300 inhabitants.* The ancient Episcopal seat does not now possess even the dignity of a parish, as it is a mere chapelry. Its area consists of 1130 acres of land, and 335 water.

2.—Points of Correspondence with Meols.

(1.) The town was built on a hill of sand and loam, not unlike the sand and turf-bog on the Cheshire coast; so that the tide gradually washed it away. Sometimes it presented to the sea a steep grassy bank, but, after an unusually high tide and storm, nothing remained but a perpendicular earthen cliff.

(2.) The sea and land seem to give and take as on the coast of Cheshire, for while one part is carried away, sand is silted up in another place; so that over what was once the haven of Dunwich there is pasture ground for cattle. Minsmere level in the neighbourhood was first a marsh, and is now meadow land.

(3.) The objects are found after a particular conjunction of winds and tides, the water having washed away the soluble earth, and having left the metallic objects remaining.

(4.) They are in general picked up by fishermen and others idling on the shore; and vast numbers have no doubt been lost, as in former years at Cheshire, from want of appreciation of their value, or of care in their preservation.

3.—Details of Interest.

The objects discovered are like our own—Roman, Saxon, and Mediæval, constituting a miscellaneous collection of great variety and interest. I had the opportunity of inspecting a number of them in London in 1859, and was so much struck with their resemblance to the objects procured in our own neighbourhood, that I could easily have fancied them to be part of a find on the Cheshire coast. They† embraced the

* In 1801 its population was 184, and in 1851, 294.

† Archæological Journal, XV., 154, 155.

following objects; but the list is of course imperfect, and intended to be merely suggestive. I have arranged them in the order of the chapters and plates in this volume, so that the reader may have an opportunity of comparison.

(1.) *Fibulæ, Roman.*—One was small and bowed, like those on our Plate III., figs. 1—7.

(2.) *Brooches, Circular.* (Plate V.)—One of these was silver, and the rest bronze. Others resembled what we have designated "Buckle brooches," (Plate VI.) Several mediæval ones were very elegant. One resembles ours, Plate VI., fig. 12, but has places for the insertion of stones or paste, like fig. 3 on the same plate.

(3.) *Buckles.* (Plates VII., VIII., IX.)—As in our own case, these were the most numerous class of objects, amounting to about forty in all. This is about one-tenth of the number procured in Cheshire. Some had shanks or attachments, and others had none; and, as in our own case, hardly two were similar in size or design.

(4.) *Tags or Strap Ends.* (Plate XI.)—These were all of brass or bronze, and were very numerous.

(5.) *Leather Ornaments.*—The variety exhibited here as well as the number, was much less than in our own case. Still, there were numerous pieces of metal stamped in relief, like those which we have designated "Plates," page 129. These are all supposed to have been attached to belts and other leathern parts of the dress and equipments.

At page 135 [*a*] we have noticed several small shields, some of them plain, but one bearing an armorial device. These were supposed to have been attached to the arms and dress of retainers. A shield of that kind was found at Dunwich about one inch long, with the royal arms upon it, and is supposed to have belonged to the fourteenth century.

(6.) *Bosses and Studs.*—Under the general name, "plates of metal," given in his description by the Rev. Greville J. Chester, no doubt bosses and studs were included; but, as the objects

were much less numerous than ours, so the classification is not so minute.

(7.) *Keys.* (Plates XVIII., XIX., XIX.A., XIX.B.)—These were very numerous, and were chiefly of bronze. Some are supposed to belong to the Roman period, and probably are of that date. One which is figured in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. XV., p. 155, resembles the well known Chinese key, such as is shown here, Plate XIX.B., fig. 6.

(8.) *Pins, Large and Small.* (Plates XXII., XXIII.)—These were found of various shapes and sizes, and of various degrees of antiquity.

(9.) *Rings.* (Plates XXIV., XXV.)—Several of these were found, supposed to be Saxon and mediæval.

(10.) *Seals.* (Plate XXVII.)—A circular brass matrix, three quarters of an inch in diameter, with a bird, supposed to be an eagle, retrogardant; after a cross come the words, CREDE MIHI: it is supposed to be of the fourteenth century. Thomas Gardner, who wrote a history of Dunwich more than a hundred years ago, possessed at that time sixty-five seals, all "found hereabouts."

(11.) *Pilgrim Signs.* (Plate XXVII.)—There was found a leaden pouch or *ampulla*, such as were distributed to pilgrims who had visited certain shrines. On one side is a scallop shell; and on the other a branch over the letter R. Four or five others have been found; and they are known in various parts of England, though they do not appear to be found in Cheshire.

(12.) *Coins.* (Plate XXVII.)—In addition to one or two Roman coins, there are those of the following reigns, Henry II., Henry III., Edward I., Edward II., Edward III., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Henry VII., Henry VIII.; together with Scotch coins, and one of Charles, Count of Anjou. There was a mint at Dunwich. Several of the earliest English coins, namely—those of Henry II. and Henry III.—are cut into halves and quarters, like those shown on our own Plate,

figs. 11 and 12; and some of the Scottish coins are divided in like manner.

(13.) *Tradesmen's Tokens.*—Of these we possess a few local examples. One is of brass, with a rude shield upon it, and the others are all of lead.

(14.) *Pottery.* (Plate XXXI.)—At about five feet from the top of the bank, or below the surface of the ground, several specimens of coarse pottery were found; blue, black, and brown. Some were Roman, and others perhaps Saxon. In one case the fragments nearly formed a complete urn.

(15.) *Animal Remains.* (Plate XXXII.)—Two human skeletons were found projecting from the face of the cliff, as skeletons are found on our own coast in the black earth; and two others were found on the shore. It is natural to expect that human bones will be more abundant there than in our neighbourhood, as the churchyards are still in the process of removal, whereas our one burying-ground (see page 16) lay far beneath the tide. Of bones of the inferior animals, there are those of the ox, sheep, deer, &c., besides numerous teeth.

(16.) A stone, being part of a building of considerable architectural pretensions, was dredged out of the sea. It was found three quarters of a mile from the shore, and in ten fathoms water.

V.—CONCLUSION.

1.—Inferences from the Domesday Survey.

On identifying the places with those mentioned in the Domesday Survey, we are struck by the peculiarity of the geographical arrangement; and as this has never been noticed before, so far as I am aware, I here draw attention to it.*

The whole line of coast, from the Mersey to the Dee, appears to have been minutely known; not a single township

* The materials are taken from the Extension and Translation of the part referring to Cheshire and Lancashire, by William Beamont, Esq., of Warrington.

being omitted. For example, we have Wallasey, Great Meols, and Little Meols, the first and second of which nearly occupy the whole end of the peninsula, while the third is merely the angle or corner at the mouth of the Dee. A portion of each of them was comprised in the Wallasey Leasowes, and formed part of the race-course, of which nearly one half has been carried away. It is not unlikely that they were originally separated by a rivulet which connected the waters of the inland marsh with the tides; and, as these waters were also connected with Wallasey Pool, the parish of Wallasey was practically insulated.* The original settlement, no doubt, occupied the highest ground on the south-western side of this channel, or the very portion which we assign to the extinct town. At present, the portion of Great Meols township which adjoins Wallasey, consists of a narrow strip of sand and marsh near the embankment; from which it is clear that much of the actual territory lay to seaward, or forming a peninsula between the tide and the in-shore lagoon. Of the township of Hoose there is no mention; and its absence is significant. The derivation which we previously gave (page 6) is thus confirmed; that it is an area won from the "hoes" or sandhills. This may account for the fact that it was till lately extra-parochial.

Commencing at the mouth of the Dee we have Caldy mentioned in two sections, one of which answers to the modern "Grange;" also Thurstaston, Heswell, and Gayton, here recorded in order. Greasby, which is more inland, is also mentioned. Continuing our progress up the Dee, we have Leighton, Great Neston, Little Neston, Hargreave, and Ness noticed; with Ledsham, Raby, and Thornton Hough, more inland. The township of Willaston is not specially named; but at that time it gave name to the whole hundred, which was called *Willaveston*. The parish of Shotwick is noticed with

* Its original name, Kirkby-in-Walley, means the church-house in the woody island.

its included townships of Saughall and Capenhurst, but both Burton and Puddington are omitted. Thus it will be seen that from the walls of Chester to Little Meols, at the mouth of the Dee, every important place was accurately known at the Conquest, and that the places which now constitute modern townships were also well known over most of the interior of the peninsula.

Commencing at the mouth of the Mersey, we find Wallasey the first and almost the last; for there is no notice of either Liscard or Poulton-with-Seacombe, nor of Birkenhead, Tranmere, Bebbington, Hooton, Netherpool, Childer-Thornton, or Whitby. We find, on the contrary, that the places a little more inland were known and are recorded; as Storeton and Poulton-cum-Spital, also Eastham, Overpool, and the two Suttons.

Thus it appears that the Cheshire bank of the Mersey, which has almost become a continuous town in our own days, was practically unknown; consisting probably of marsh and woodland not appropriated, and comparatively valueless. The productive portions of any of these would be included within the indefinite and shifting limits of some of the others named. Advancing to the parish of Woodchurch, we find its northern townships (including Woodchurch, Arrow, Oxton, and Pensby) unnoticed, with the single exception of Knocktorum; while the southern townships, Prenton, Landican, Thingwall, and Barnston, are known. One can well understand this, as even in our own time the northern portion of the hundred, and of this parish, is very uninviting. It is thus described by the historian of Cheshire—

"Cheshire possesses no parish of similar extent, that has fewer claims to attention and interest, than Woodchurch; a district which appears as if it had come unfinished from the hands of nature, and is certainly under very little obligation to the improvements of man. It occupies the centre of the northern part of the peninsula, and presents an appearance bare, moorish, and cheerless, but never rising into the wild or the picturesque." *

* Ormerod's Hist. Chesh., II., 286.

Of the entire parish of Bidston, containing upwards of 4000 acres, and comprising Bidston-cum-Ford, Claughton-cum-Grange, Moreton-cum-Lingham, and Saughall Massey, not a single place is named. At the time of the survey, it must have possessed the characteristics of Woodchurch in an unusual degree; as within its limits falls most of the area shown on the map within a dotted line. This consists of nearly 3000 acres, lying below the level of high-water, great part of which is still a marsh appropriated as grazing land during the summer, and unsuitable for the purposes of cultivation.

The following is the extended account of three townships at the end of the peninsula, from Mr. Beamont's translation referred to above:—

Little Meols. The same Robert holds *Melas.* Levenot had it. There is one hide rateable to the gelt. The land is iii carucates. One radman and iii villeins and iii bordars have i carucate. In King Edward's time it was worth x shillings, and after viii shillings, now xii shillings.

Great Meols. The same Robert holds *Melas.* Levenot held it. There is one hide rateable to the gelt. The land is one carucate and a half. One radman and ii villeins and ij bordars have one carucate there. In King Edward's time it was worth xv shillings now x shillings. He (the Earl) found it waste.

Wallasey. The same Robert holds *Wallea.* Uctred held it, and was a freeman. There is one hide and a half rateable to the gelt. The land is iv carucates. (There are) one villein and i bordar there with half a carucate, and one foreigner has one carucate with ii neatherds and i radman and i bordar.

It appears from this, that at the time of Edward the Confessor, Great Meols was half as valuable again as Little Meols; but that, in the short period of about thirty years, their relative and absolute condition had greatly altered. Little Meols had lost in value 20 per cent., and had then not merely recovered but gained 20 per cent.; while Great Meols, the locality of our antiquities, had sunk in value 33 per cent., and not recovered at all. As the Earl of Chester found it waste, it is not improbable that the great natural changes of

condition had taken place in the interval, *e. g.*, the wasting away or sinking of part of the coast, and the ingress of the blowing sands. Such phenomena are well known upon various parts of our coast, as at Perranzabuloe, in Cornwall, where the ancient church was buried in sand, or Forvee, on the north coast of Scotland, where, in a terrific storm of nine days' duration, the entire parish was covered by sand and destroyed.*

2.—GENERAL INFERENCES.

1. The coast formerly projected much farther to seaward. This is not a matter of opinion, but a demonstrable fact. The evidence on which the statement is founded may be briefly given thus :—

(*a.*) The showing of ancient maps.

(*b.*) The testimony of historic records.

(*c.*) A considerable portion of a race-course has been removed.

(*d.*) A public road has been broken up and rendered useless.

(*e.*) A burial-place has been carried away.

(*f.*) It has been found necessary to build a large embankment against the sea.

(*g.*) Notwithstanding this, its inroads upon the land have taken place so recently as the present year, 1863.

2. The following facts may be stated in corroboration :—

(*a.*) To seaward of the present cultivated land and sandhills are found the remains, not of one, but of several forests, of different growths, with their roots imbedded in the soil in which they flourished.

(*b.*) Traces of cultivation exist, under the mounds of sand, to the very margin of the tide ; proving that even cultivation extended to seaward of the present water-line.

(*c.*) The remains of an ancient house, like the Hall or proprietary mansion of the neighbourhood, existed till within the last century ; and portions of buildings still standing, contain some of its materials worked up in them.

* Pratt's History of Buchan, p. 245.

(*d.*) An ancient well, or spring of fresh water, rises far within the area covered by the tide; and tradition asserts that it was formerly covered by a brick archway, and that it was last used by the attendants on the lighthouse which has been obliterated.

3. The oldest or Roman articles are found in the upper stratum of the old forest turf, among the trunks and roots of trees; but their range is extremely limited, and they are found chiefly to the eastward of Dove Point. From this it is evident that the earliest inhabitants of Meols established themselves on the side next the lighthouse.

4. The pre-historic or purely British objects are so few in number that this can never have been a British station; though, no doubt, wandering tribes of several kinds passed over it in primitive times.

5. The Roman objects, though among the oldest, are still so numerous as to be consistent only with the theory that there was an important station here. When the land projected further out, it gave them a full view of a long range of coast. Sir Charles Lyell mentions a tradition respecting Dunwich, that the tailors could sit in their shops there, and see the ships entering Yarmouth bay. So the Roman centurion may have stood upon the coast of ancient Meols, and seen the galleys of his countrymen sail down Chester water. Turning to the west, they passed along the Cambrian coast; or to the east, round Hilbre, through Heye-pol, and past his own point of observation.

6. There appears to have been a high sandy promontory, of which the Dove Spit is all that now remains; and, owing to the force of frequent strong tides, it is gradually diminishing. On this promontory ancient Meols was no doubt situated; and the unsubstantial materials of which it was composed, like the hill of Dunwich, presented facilities for its destruction. The inhabitants literally realized the effects of building their houses upon the sand. This elevation, of what-

ever height, appears to have been covered with trees, in the shelter of which they wandered, and near which their cottages were placed. And as we find, in various parts of England, that the ancient Roman roads were used by the Saxons, and in many instances continue to form the leading lines of communication to our own times, so the village, the seashore, the woodland paths, the burying-ground, &c., were used not only by successive generations, but by successive peoples. This accounts for the finding of objects differing in *nationality* as well as in *date*, within the narrow limits under investigation.

9. But the more modern objects are found further westward, certain Saxon examples, chiefly coins, being found nearly a mile to the west, and on the clay; thus showing a gradual change of residence in the direction of the Dee, owing no doubt to such physical causes as those we are considering.

10. The articles which belong more strictly to modern historic times—*e. g.*, to the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries—are found nearer to the village of Hoylake, or still further removed from the original Roman position. Thus, keeping to seaward of the present water-line, we trace the course of habitation from the eastern side of Dove Point to the village of Hoylake.

11. The island of Hilbre (Hilbury, Ilbre, or Helburgh) possesses an interest of its own. It was a Saxon cell of monks of the Benedictine order; and the access to it was usually by Chester, both in going and returning. In later times it held communication by ship across the Dee, or over the Constable's sands. Several Saxon objects have been found at or near it, including the cross, p. 267, and a few Roman objects; but, though these are enumerated here, they were in some degree unconnected with the village of Meols, and with the objects found there.

12. The Danes were familiar with this part of the country, and probably ravaged its coasts, as they did in other parts of England; but from the manner in which Scandinavian and

Saxon local names are blended on the estuary of the Dee, and indeed all along the coast of Lancashire and Cheshire, it is clear that they formed peaceful settlements among the people, and exercised productive industry. In the parish of West Kirkby, they found an unusual number of enclosed fields;* and of course agriculture, in a progressive state, even in that unpromising situation.

13. The incursion of the Danes, however, could not have effected much injury; for we find that most of the relics belong to dates subsequent to that period; and it is sometimes impossible to say when an object belonged to the Saxon members of the great continental family, and when to the Danish members.

14. At the time of the Domesday Survey, Great Meols appears to have been recently sanded up; and it possessed then only about thirty acres of arable land, in connection with which five families are mentioned. One of these was a radman (roadster or carrier); two others were labourers; and the remaining two were tenants paying in kind, or furnishing animal food for the table of the proprietor. It would certainly appear as if the inhabitants had just then shifted westward, in the direction of Little Meols; for there was there twice as much land uninjured, and the labourers and tenants were three and three respectively.

15. The neat-herds of Wallasey, who exercised their vocation in the days of the Conqueror, have their representatives at the present hour; but the radman with his pack-horse no longer plunges through the sandy roads of Caldy, Thurstaston, and Heswall, to the region of civilization at Chester. His craft has been superseded by the proprietors of well-appointed omnibuses, by farmers with their carts, and by one or two carriers.

16. Bradshaw the poet, quoted p. 27, shows that in the reign of the first Henry, the Dee was a well-frequented river; that

* See Remarks on the termination "hey," p. 39.

numerous ships, such as the time furnished, lay at its mouth; and that the passage across to Basingwerk Abbey, near the modern Holywell, was then a "royal road."

17. The remains of Norman pottery which have been discovered, and the numerous goad-spurs, which are still more distinct and significant, afford evidence that the settlement revived; and that persons of knightly character frequented the woods and sands of the locality, while their humbler followers used such household implements as the condition of the arts then furnished. Of the wearers of the goad spurs it may be said:—

Their bones are dust,
Their swords are rust,
Their souls are with the saints, we trust.

18. The succeeding period, that is to say, the mediæval or early English, was probably the most flourishing; and may have continued down to about the year 1500. Most of the objects range over this period of four centuries; and we are, therefore, at liberty to infer that the great inroads of the sea, like great earthquakes, occurred at remote periods, though the minor causes and effects were of regular occurrence.

19. The more modern objects are easily accounted for, as many of them, no doubt, belonged to non-resident persons; viz., to the sailors and military, who merely passed over the place.

20. Though no houses remain, nor any portion of them, there is evidence that the mass of these relics belonged to resident people, and not to mere passers-by. The limited geographical area within which the Roman and Saxon objects are found, is, of itself, conclusive on the subject. Besides, our modern town house represents a building of solid brick or stone, covered with slates, and with doors and glazed windows. This is very different from the fragile structures which must have satisfied many even of the wealthy in the olden time. Their houses were probably all of timber; much of their furniture of the

same material; and timber also served them for fuel. Some portion of these, no doubt, still remains undistinguishable in the spongy masses of oak, fir, and hazel, which make the Dove or Black earth almost one mass of rotten timber. In no part of England have houses of wooden construction continued so long as in Cheshire; where the framed timber and plaster, or post-and-petrel, houses may still be seen either in town or country districts.

21. There are few warlike implements among all that are found; it is clear, therefore, that they were connected mainly with civil and peaceful pursuits.

22. There are the articles of female ornament and industry; the hair-pin, the needle, the spindle-whorl, the ear-rings, beads, &c., as well as those connected with the dress of men and the equipment of horses. Therefore, both sexes must have made the locality their home; and, though no object has been found which can be clearly identified as a child's toy, it is evident that family ties existed, that children grew up, that adult men and women engaged in the daily struggle of life, and that old age, as usual, sank into the tomb.

23. There are articles of various degrees of intrinsic value; some common, as of lead, pewter, and iron; and others rare, as of gold, silver, and enamel. Therefore, the rich and the poor have met together upon this spot, and have combined largely with others in the middle ranks of life.

24. Since so many as ninety objects were found in a single year, it may be said that they are still numerous; yet, we know by comparison, that they are rapidly diminishing. In 1814 they were found in much greater abundance; and the difficulty of procuring them has since increased. The inference is, that the principal inhabited spot is becoming more and more completely washed away, and that we are now only on the outskirts, picking up such objects as the tide separates or washes out from the enclosing earth.

25. While discussing the question respecting the existence

of former residents, and the periods at which they respectively flourished, we stand on the very surface which they trod, and move portions of the trees about, under whose foliage they rested. Some of these fragments may have been the porches or lintels of their doors, the posts which supported their humble roofs, or the benches on which they sat at eventide, when the toils of the field or of the forest chase were over.

26. It requires no stretch of the imagination, but only the legitimate exercise of fair reasoning, to realize such a picture as that which Mrs. Hemans presents to us, in her little poem entitled "The Last Tree of the Forest." She represents a gigantic oak as uttering words which might be spoken by one of those beside us:—

I have seen the knight and his train ride past,
With his banner borne on high;
Over all my leaves there was brightness cast,
From his gleaming panoply.

The pilgrim at my feet hath laid
His palm branch, 'midst the flowers,
And told his beads, and meekly pray'd,
Kneeling at vesper hours.

And the merry men of wild and glen,
In the green array they wore,
Have feasted here with red wine's cheer,
And the hunters' songs of yore.

And the minstrel, resting in my shade,
Hath made the forest ring,
With the lordly tales of the high crusade,
Once loved by chief and king.

3.—FINALE.

The contest between land and water is one among the natural influences that go forward without cessation. In general, a sandy coast gains upon the sea, and the sea gains where there are perpendicular cliffs of any material which admits of being gradually undermined. Year by year the contest is waged in Egypt, where, during the long drought,

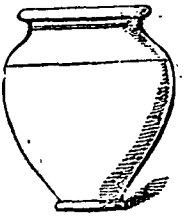
the desert sands narrow the little strip of cultivation; and again, the Nile, at the swelling of its waters, drives back the desert for a time. On our own coast the contest is similar in principle, but on a smaller scale. We have narrowed the bed of both rivers, and extracted valuable land from their bottoms. We have hemmed them in within narrower bounds, and tried to secure a deep channel for our large ships; and it is natural to suppose that Neptune will have his reprisals. If he destroyed the land while under no such provocation, he will not spare it to-day.

Within sight of the spot where these relics were procured, and where the associations of centuries lie buried, two sister boroughs rise, where nothing but a castle and an abbey were seen, and reckon their joint population at more than half a million. At a short distance, forests of masts meet the eye; and in the giant havens won from the marsh and the river, and along the hill-side, the products of the world are deposited for use and transmission. The roar of a great town echoes over melancholy wastes, once thriving and populous; and to the sound of the shipmen's voices, or the rattle of the hammers of naval architects, there is now no response from these almost desolate sands. Thus, commerce like fortune turns her wheel, scattering her favours now to this place, now to that, and showing that none is secure against a reasonable proportion of what are called "ups and downs."

In trying to rescue this place and its successive inhabitants from oblivion, and to show something of their existence, character, and pursuits, by the small monuments which they have left behind them, the writer has been chiefly anxious to adduce a large body of well-ascertained facts, as the materials for future comparison and generalization. The professional archæologist may discover some faults in the treatment of the numerous details, but he will find at the same time a large fund of new and authentic materials; and, if a more correct explanation can be given than is offered here, the writer will be one of the first

and the heartiest to welcome it. He has been unusually cautious in fixing the dates of particular objects; knowing that it is very easy to deceive oneself in this respect, and to exaggerate the importance of a commonplace object, by arbitrarily claiming for it a position which no one can legally disprove. But, another date may be just as arbitrarily assigned, and the disproof may be as difficult; so that nothing is settled by the adoption of such a course. In the present case, it is wholly unnecessary to urge the importance of the objects generally, as they speak for themselves, and they will more than bear out all the inferences which I have endeavoured to extract from them.

I venture to believe that, amidst all the jostling and competition of commerce, and amid the continued excitement of political events anticipated or achieved, there is still a feeling of earnest interest in the past, and a sincere desire to know the former condition of a locality which has made, and is making, the materials of history so rapidly. It may never happen that our own town will be either sanded up or washed away. No future Belzoni may find it necessary to dig out Nelson's monument from the deserted exchange; nor may the antiquaries of New Zealand occupy themselves in discussion respecting the alleged position of St. George's Hall. On the contrary, let us suppose a tide of continued prosperity, and many rapid and successive enlargements of the sister towns on the banks of the Mersey; even then, the numerous children of both communities will look back with kindly interest to our days, just as we do to the various periods which have been passed in review in these pages.



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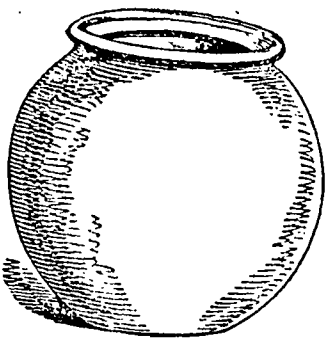

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